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**THE OLD ROYAL PALACE
OF WHITEHALL**



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*Charles I.
from a portrait by H. Stone.
after Sir A. Van Dyck in St. James's Palace.*

THE OLD ROYAL PALACE
OF WHITEHALL. By EDGAR
SHEPPARD, D.D., Sub-Dean of H.M.
Chapels Royal and Sub-Almoner to the King,
&c. ; Author of 'Memorials of St. James's
Palace'

*WITH 6 PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES AND
33 OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS*

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P R E F A C E

THE old Palace of Whitehall has great claims to public interest, both by reason of its antiquity and of its historical associations, to say nothing of its intimate connection with the lives of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns, and the dramatic events of which it was the scene.

The Palace has almost entirely passed away, and only the Banqueting House remains to remind us of its former glory. Its story may therefore be said to have come to an end.

It is a curious fact that that story—so far as I am aware—has never been written in full and continuous detail.

It has been my aim to supply such a narrative, and to give, as far as possible, a complete record of this old Palace.

In the compilation of such a work as this, the materials have had to be gathered from wide and varied sources ; and my task would have been almost

an impossible one but for the access to official documents and records which I have been privileged to obtain, and for the kindness I have experienced at the hands of the many who have assisted me in my difficult undertaking.

In the first place I beg leave here to tender my profound and dutiful thanks to the King, not only for His Majesty's willingness to accept the dedication of this work, but also for the gracious permission extended to me, by which I have been enabled to procure reproductions of the following from His Majesty's collections: (1) a miniature of the Princess Elizabeth, in the Library at Windsor Castle, and (2) a portrait of Charles I. in the State Rooms at St. James's Palace.

My sincere and grateful acknowledgments are at the same time due to Mr. Frederick Hellard, of the Office of Woods, who has given me most valuable aid in many ways, placing before me facts and data which I could not otherwise have obtained.

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and practical kindness to me during my many visits to the College of Arms, and to Lord Welby, and the Council of the London Topographical Society, for the permission which they have been good enough to give me to reproduce their plan of Whitehall.

As was the case in a former work of mine, I have endeavoured to add to the value and interest of this Book, and, if possible, to atone for its shortcomings, by careful selection and reproduction of the illustrations. And, as before, to my late friend Mr. J. E. Gardner, so now to his son, I am most deeply indebted for giving me access to his valuable and unique collection of historical prints and engravings. He, like his father before him, has not only allowed me to inspect his rare collection, but he has also very generously given me leave to take copies of several of them.

On a previous occasion I offered my warmest thanks to Mr. Mynott—the Librarian of the Oxford and Cambridge Club. To his valuable assistance and searches I again have the pleasure of acknowledging very great obligations. My heartiest thanks are also due and gratefully rendered to Sir Reginald Palgrave, K.C.B., late Deputy-Keeper of the Rolls, for the ready help he gave to me when drawing up those chapters which have special reference

to King Charles I., a subject on which he is so eminent an authority ; to the Right Hon. Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane, G.C.B., late Comptroller in the Lord Chamberlain's Department ; to Sir Arthur Ellis, K.C.V.O., C.S.I., present Comptroller in this Department, and to all the officials at the Lord Chamberlain's Office, for the help which they are at all times ready to extend to me ; to Mr. George Courroux, M.V.O., Secretary to the Board of Green Cloth ; to Mr. Robert Heron-Maxwell, of the Board of Trade ; and to Mr. H. J. Bidwell (Secretary of the Royal Almonry) for his kind and valuable assistance in the drawing up of that chapter which deals specially with the Royal Maundy.

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My thanks are also due to Mr. Holmes, C.V.O., Librarian at Windsor Castle; to Sir Edmund du Cane, K.C.B.; to Mr. Noel A. Humphreys (Chief Clerk), and to Mr. James Lewis (Superintendent of Records), both of Somerset House; to the many and different officials of the British Museum and Record Office, including, at the latter, Mr. H. E. Headlam; to Mr. Emery Walker, of Messrs. Walker and Cockerell, who has been of great assistance to me in discovering some of the old prints and illustrations inserted in this book; and to the many other gentlemen who have been so kind as materially to assist me in the compilation of this Book, and to whose courteous aid it necessarily owes such completeness as it can boast.

EDGAR SHEPPARD.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE,
February, 1902.

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THE OLD ROYAL PALACE OF WHITEHALL

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME 'WHITEHALL'

To the Londoner there is but one Whitehall. He conceives of it vaguely as the historic district where, in old days, that memorable scene of the beheading of Charles I. took place. But, for all that, there are many Whitehalls in the land. Whitehall is a term still associated with all the Royal Palaces in England as well as with many old castles, and, historically, with the place of assembly for peers in Parliament. In the case of the Royal Palace of Whitehall, however, the title has been specialised. The name of the part has been extended to the whole; and what was once York House has, since the days of Henry VIII., enjoyed the proud distinction of being *the* Whitehall of all the Palaces.

But in this, as in the other instances where the name occurs, the meaning and origin of it are a

matter of conjecture, and, as is the case with so many other words in daily use, its familiarity has obscured its derivation. But, from a consideration of the common factors exhibited by the various buildings or parts of buildings to which the term is applied, we can arrive with some certainty at an appreciation of its meaning. The idea which it seems always to have been intended to convey is that of a dignified and stately apartment, from which the whole edifice, whereof it forms a part, derives something of architectural importance. 'The White-Hall' was, in fact, the name not infrequently given by our ancestors to the festive halls of their habitations: there was a White Hall at Kenilworth, and the hall now used by the peers as their place of assembling in Parliament was the 'White-Hall of the Royal Palace of Westminster,' and is so called by Stow.¹

The Palace, as we have said, was originally known as York House. The question naturally arises, why the name was changed, and when. But it is, unfortunately, not easy to decide either the occasion or the date of the change. And before we state the few facts and theories at our disposal, we may as well confess at once that the exact time when the term 'Whitehall' was first applied to the Palace with which it is now chiefly associated cannot be definitely ascertained. But this we know: it was certainly not in general use in this connection

¹ *Archæologia*, xxv. 113 (1834).

until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and its use as an official designation of the Palace dates from the beginning of the reign of James I.

For many years, under the name of York House or York Place, the Palace was the London residence of the Archbishops of York. It was part of the patrimony of the See, and parcel of the inheritance of the Archbishops. There is no doubt, as we shall show in the next chapter, that Cardinal Wolsey, during his tenure of the See and his residence at York Place, built or rebuilt a considerable portion of the Palace.¹ Certain writers have therefore been led to make the deduction that it was he who also re-named it, and that the new title of Whitehall was suggested to him by the fresh appearance of the new work as compared with the older buildings in the vicinity. In Rymer's 'Fœdera' ² we are told that one of the buildings of York Place was called 'Whitehall' in the reign of Henry VIII., and this statement might seem at first to support the above-mentioned conclusion. But the document which relates this fact 'records the delivery of a new great seal to Sir Thomas Audley, Knight, which was done on September 6, 1532.'³ The date is significant, for Wolsey had fallen nearly three years earlier. But then comes this question: if Wolsey did not alter the name of York House, who did?

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxv.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom. vi. Pars 2, p. 173 (Editio Tertia).

³ Brayley's *Londiniana*.

If we turn now to other authorities, we shall find our question answered plainly enough. Whitehall was 'originally called York House: was delivered and demised to the King by charter, February 7 (21st Henry VIII.), on the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, and was then first called Whitehall.'¹

And Cunningham² writes in the same sense when he says: 'During the long period of its occupancy by the Archbishops, this Palace was known as "York Place," but Henry VIII. changed its name to Whitehall, possibly from some new buildings having been constructed by him of stone at a time when brick and timber were the materials in more general use.' Whether this contrast between the new white stone and the older and more usual materials of brick and timber did or did not actually suggest the new name to the King, it is not very profitable to inquire. As we have already pointed out, there were many other Whitehalls in those days. But the conclusion at which we arrive is that the substitution of the name Whitehall for York Place was probably made about the time of Wolsey's disgrace, in December, 1529, and that it was made by the King.

If we seek a reason for this change of name, we shall find it, we may be allowed to conjecture, in the circumstances of that impressive catastrophe of

¹ *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, iv. 90.

² Cunningham's *Handbook for London*, ii. 911.

human greatness, the fall of Cardinal Wolsey. Great events leave their marks behind them in a thousand permanent minor effects. Popular opinion is ever ready to be influenced by nomenclature, and ever ready, also, to enshrine the memory of a hero in a local habitation. The splendour of York Place had been the outward and visible sign of the greatness and influence of Wolsey. The depth of his fall was to be signified by the erasure of the very name of his palace from the annals of history. Such, at any rate, is the impression that Shakespeare's treatment of the matter seems to convey ; such the reflection we may be allowed to perceive in his mirror of the public mind. For in his play of ' Henry VIII.' he causes one of the interlocutors, in describing Queen Anne Boleyn's coronation, to say :—

So she parted,
And with the same full state paced back again
To York Place, where the feast is held.

To this the following reply is made :—

Sir,

You must no more call it York Place ; that's past :
For since the Cardinal fell, that title's lost ;
'Tis now the King's and called Whitehall.

CHAPTER II

THE OLD PALACE OF WHITEHALL

THE Palace of Whitehall, for many years the principal London residence of the English Court, and a building of immense historical interest, was erected upon a site originally occupied by a large mansion, built in the year 1240, in the reign of Henry III., by Hubert or Hugo de Burgh, Earl of Kent and Lord Chief Justice, or, as some old books have it, 'Chief Justiciary,' of England. In consideration of a certain number of silver marks and 'a yearly tribute of a wax taper of three pounds weight, on the Feast of St. Edward,' the Monks of Westminster granted to this Hubert de Burgh 'the inheritance of certain houses with a Court, and a free Chapel within the liberties of Westminster,'¹ in which to hold services for himself and his family. Smith, in his 'Antiquities of Westminster,' calls our attention to the fact that 'among the old Charters in the Tower are several grants to Hubert de Burgh of Houses, a Court Chapel, &c., in the Town of Westminster, and of land called More, which it is

¹ Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 699.

there said lies between the Hospital of St. James and this moor or marsh of John Chancellor.'¹

Hubert de Burgh, whom Roger describes as 'Miles Strenuus,'² seems to have made a vow to go to the Holy Land to fight the Infidel. This vow he was unable to fulfil owing to his death, which occurred in the year 1242. He therefore left his property of Whitehall to the Church of the Black-Friars, near Oldbourne or Holborn, where he was buried. His instructions were that the Whitehall property should be sold, and that the money should be employed in defraying the expense of an expedition to the Holy Land. Matthew Paris, however, describes the transaction somewhat differently. According to him, Hubert sold the property 'to the Friars Predicant, and among other things his noble Palace which is not far distant from the Palace of Earl Richard, near Westminster.'³

Whatever the true version of the business may have been, the Palace certainly came into the possession of the Friars Predicant, whose proper designation was the Preaching or Black Friars, and who are more widely known at the present day as the Dominicans. For, in the year 1248, they sold the Palace to Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, who died in 1255; and from that time until the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, a period of nearly three centuries, it was the London residence of the occupants

¹ Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, 1807.

² Loftie's *Portfolio*.

³ Matthew Paris, edit. 1640, p. 600

of the See of York, thirty of whom dwelt there in their official capacity. The building was accordingly known during that period as 'York House.'¹ A palace fit for a bishop was in those days a palace fit for a king. We are, therefore, not surprised to find that 'at Easter, 1360, the King (Edward III.) and his Parliament assembled here, and twice York Place was the lodging of King Edward I. and his Queen.'²

It was, however, during the residence of Cardinal Wolsey that York Place began to be invested with that splendour which is usually associated in our minds with the word 'palace.' That Wolsey built a great part of the Palace, including a hall and a chapel, we learn from several authorities, among others from Fiddes,³ and from Cavendish, who was not only the Cardinal's biographer, but also his gentleman-usher. The following lines in Storer's 'Metrical History of Wolsey' (1599) likewise bear out the view that the Palace at the time of its confiscation, or whatever we are to call it, by Henry VIII., was largely the work of Wolsey :

Where fruitful Thames salutes the learned shore
Was this grave Prelate, and the muses plac'd,
And by those waves he *builded* had before
A Royal House with learned muses grac'd ;
But by his death imperfect and defac'd
O blessed walls and broken towers (quoth he)
That never rose to fall again with me.

¹ Godwin, p. 679.

² Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*.

³ Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 497.



A VIEW OF WHITEHALL, WITH THE HOLBEIN GATEWAY.
(From a Drawing made by Paul Sandby, now in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)

The Palace, we are told, was at this time distinguished 'by a sumptuous magnificence that most probably has never been equalled in the house of any other English subject, or surpassed in the palaces of many of its kings.'¹ Both its 'sumptuous magnificence' and the rebuilding of the Palace are eminently characteristic of the Cardinal. Oxford and Hampton Court bear witness to his passion for building and his feeling for architecture; whilst the pages of Cavendish are filled with highly coloured illustrations of his love of pomp and splendour.

Wolsey was the last Archbishop who occupied York House. Upon his disgrace, in 1529, it was delivered to the King by charter dated February 7 (21st Henry VIII.), and in the summer of 1536 another Act was passed (28th Henry VIII., cap. 12) which annexed it to the ancient Palace of Westminster.

'The deed by which possession of Whitehall was given to the King is dated "12 of February, 21 Henry VIII. (1530), being a record in the Exchequer, endorsed York Palace, Middlesex. Recovery by Cardinal Wolsey."'² 'In this singular instrument,' says Brayley, 'which is printed in the "Collections" appended by Fiddes to his life of the Cardinal, and which was recorded in the King's Bench and Chancery Courts at Westminster respectively on the 7th and 11th of February, 1530, York Place is

¹ Knight's *Old Whitehall*.

² Strype, Book VI. p. 5.

stated to consist of one messuage, two gardens, and three acres of land, with appurtenances in the town of Westminster.' ¹

Hall tells us that 'the Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Yorke, by their writing, confirmed the same feoffment, and then the King changed the name, and called it the King's Manor of Westminster, and no more Yorke Place.'

Wolsey had incurred the *præmunire*, and forfeited his estate to the Crown; but it comes to us with a shock of surprise to find that the inheritance of his See was treated as if it were part of his own private estate. It required the bluntness of a King Hal to demand not only that the property of York House should be delivered up to him, but also that it should pass into the hands of his successors to the throne. Wolsey objected on conscientious grounds to such a surrender of the patrimony of his See, but he had nevertheless to yield to the King's demand. It was a harsh and illegitimate exaction, but the Cardinal had not accustomed the King to respect the property of the Church.

Certain writers have endeavoured to excuse the King by maintaining that Cardinal Wolsey presented York House with its contents 'as a peace offering to his rapacious and incensed master.' That the need for some excuse was felt is evident from the wording of an Act of Parliament (28 Henry VIII.) which was passed immediately afterwards, for de-

¹ Brayley's *Londiniana* (1829, vol. xi.).

claring the limits of the King's Palace. Therein it is stated that 'the ancient Palace, erected time out of mind, and situated near the Abbey of St. Peter, had fallen into utter ruin and decay, which induced the King to purchase one great mansion place and house, sometime parcel of the possessions and inheritance of the Archbishop of York.'

The acquisition, it may be added, was a very convenient one ; for not only had the old Palace of the King, in the Palace Yard at Westminster, fallen into decay and ruin, as above stated, but the Court was without any residence in that quarter where its seat was usually held.¹

In Whitehall, then, after various alterations and buildings had been completed, the King fixed his royal residence, and it was the dwelling-place of his successors until the disastrous fire in 1698.

The king, we have seen, gained possession of the Palace at no cost to himself. He may have felt that he was justified therefore in spending money on enlarging it. This, at any rate, he proceeded to do at once. An Act of Parliament tells us that he added, chiefly on the west side of the highway, many 'distinct, beautiful, costly, and pleasant lodgings for his Grace's singular pleasure, comfort, and commodity, to the great credit of the realm,' and that he had 'inclosed the premises by a wall of brick and stone for a park, with many conveniences and

¹ Strype, Book VI. p. 5.

decorations, fit only for the residence and honour of so great a Prince.'

To the honour of so great a prince the mere property of Whitehall, consisting of the few acres which had passed from Hubert de Burgh to the Preaching Friars and from them to the See of York, was far from satisfying. King Henry, says Loftie, 'found York House insufficient for his excessive pomp. He therefore obtained a grant from John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, of some large possessions, in 1532, viz. :—all the houses in King Street between Lamb Alley and the south of York Place : all the land from the Chapel of "Our Lady Rouncival," at Charing Cross, to Scotland Yard : all the property which now forms the Green and St. James's Parks, and the site of Buckingham House and Garden.'¹ In addition to this the King obtained possession of all the land 'between Charing Cross and an outlying suburb of Westminster known as "Little Cales" or "Calais."'²

We shall, in the course of our work, have occasion to make frequent mention of Charing Cross, and to use it as a landmark in Whitehall. We may, therefore, be pardoned if we take the first opportunity of warning the modern Londoner, whose notion of Charing Cross is determined by his visits to the South-Eastern Railway Station, that the original Charing Cross—that is, the old Eleanor Cross at Charing—stood where the admirable equestrian

¹ Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*.

² Loftie's *Whitehall*.

statue of King Charles I. now stands, facing Whitehall. The Eleanor Crosses were, it may be worth while to repeat, twelve in number, and they were erected by Edward I. at the places where the body of his Queen, Eleanor of Castile, rested on its way to Westminster Abbey. The cross erected in the then village of Charing was of stone brought from Caen, and the steps were of marble, which came from Corfe in Dorsetshire. It took the place of a temporary wooden cross, and was erected 1291-1294. It was 'voted down' by the Long Parliament in 1643, but the vote was not acted on until four years later. Several of the stones, we are told, were used for paving Whitehall, and from others knife-hafts were fashioned, 'which, being well polished, looked like marble.' The Eleanor Cross in the courtyard of the South-Eastern Railway Station is a reproduction of the original design. It was executed under the direction of Mr. E. M. Barry, the architect to whom we owe the present Houses of Parliament.¹

In view of the acquisitions which we enumerated before we entered on this long digression, it will readily be understood that the Palace which resulted from the architectural efforts of Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII. appears to have been surprisingly extensive. A plan of it is engraved by Vertue, from a survey made, in 1680, by one Fisher, and the

¹ See a letter, signed 'A Lover of London,' *Morning Post*, Feb. 17, 1901.

space it there covers, including, of course, many courtyards and areas, is upwards of twenty-three acres. A copy of the map is at the Office of Woods. A more distinct idea may be formed of its great extent by comparing it with that of other known buildings. The King of Naples' Palace at Caserta covers about twelve or thirteen acres; Hampton Court Palace from eight to nine; St. James's Palace about four; Buckingham Palace about two and a half. The new palace, designed by Inigo Jones, would have covered nearly twenty-four acres.¹

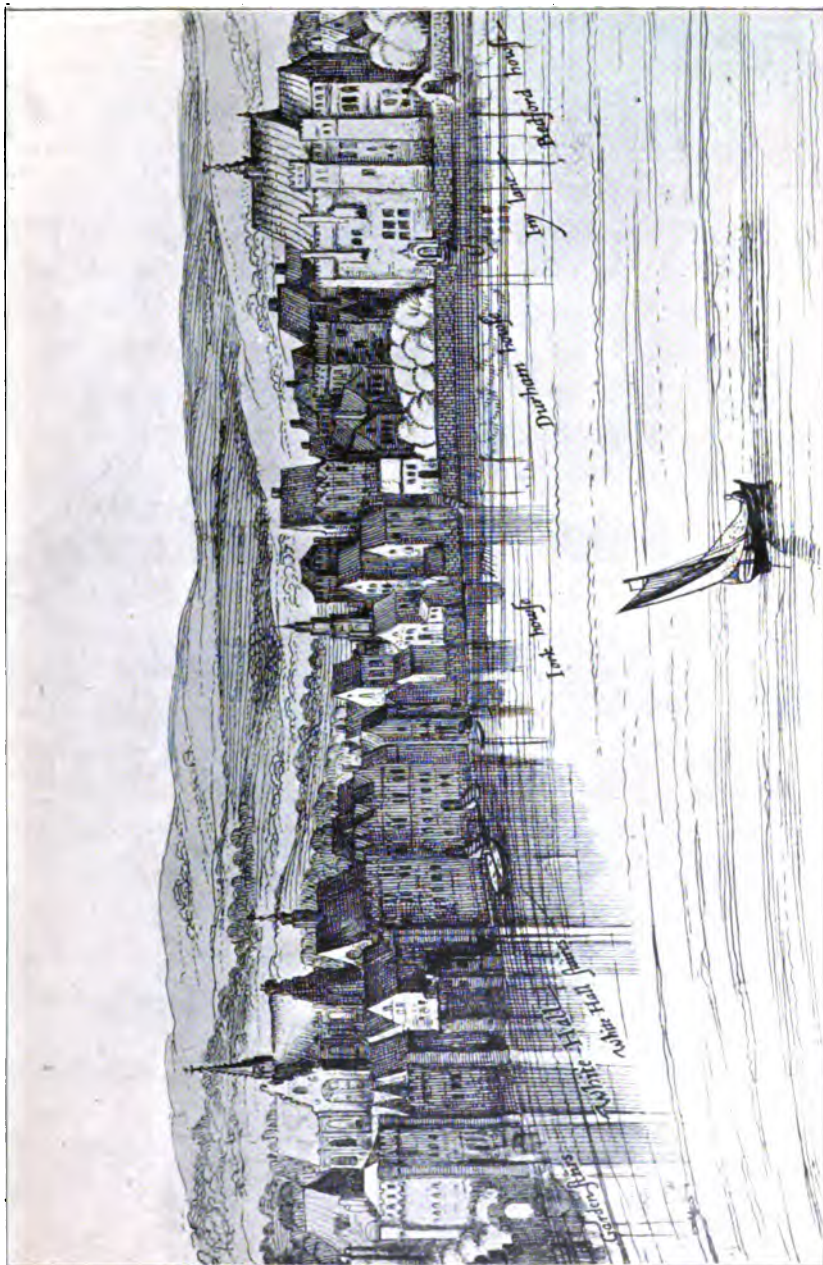
Some conception of the quantity of ground embraced may be derived by the modern Londoner from the following descriptions.

'The Royal mansion extended,' says Mr. Knight, 'from Scotland Yard and Wallingford House, on the north, to Cannon Row and the top of Downing Street² on the south, and east and west from the Thames to St. James's Park;³ whilst Hughson, in his 'Walks through London,' tells us that Whitehall occupied a space 'along the northern bank of the river, a little below Westminster Bridge, and extended to St. James's Park, along the

¹ *Archæologia* (1834), xxv. 113. Letter from Sydney Smirke, Esq., F.S.A., to Henry Ellis, Esq., F.R.S.

² Downing Street was named after Sir George Downing (Secretary to the Treasury). In 1698 it is described as 'a pretty open space, especially at the upper end, where are four or five very large and well-built houses fit for persons of honour and quality, each house having a pleasant prospect into St. James's Park, with a Tarras-walk.'

³ Knight's *Old Whitehall*.



WHITEHALL FROM THE RIVER IN 1616.
(From Vischer's view of London in the British Museum.)

eastern end of which many of its various buildings lay, from the Cock-pit to Spring Gardens.'

Whitehall Palace was in the Tudor style of architecture. It included a gallery which the King threw across the street, a cock-pit, a tennis court, which stood on the site of the present Treasury buildings, and other buildings for various kinds of amusements; a beautiful gate, alongside the Banqueting House, and a magnificent gallery which had been brought from Ister, and which ran northward to Charing Cross. Henry also built a chapel and a spacious room for entertainments. Mr. Loftie's statement that 'very little building of any importance went on under Henry VIII., or his immediate successors,' is, it will be granted, hardly consistent with these facts.

The site of that portion of the building which faced the river is occupied at the present day by Whitehall Gardens, Montagu House, and the Board of Trade.

The two gates—the Whitehall Gate and the King Street Gate—that stood south of Whitehall and north of King Street, were necessary on account of the old right of way, between Charing Cross and Westminster, which ran through the grounds of Whitehall Palace. King Street itself, together with Parliament Street, which ran parallel, was pulled down in the year 1900 to make way for new Government buildings. It was so called because it was the direct road between the Court and the

Abbey.¹ It extended originally, says Cunningham, from Charing Cross through or past Whitehall, to the King's Palace at Westminster. Here in old days resided Admiral Lord Howard of Effingham, who fought for queen and country against the Spanish Armada; and here for some time lived the Poets' Poet, Edmund Spenser. Whitehall ended at the north gate, and King Street began at the south gate; but we may take it as most probable that the road through the Palace between the gates was really part of King Street. To prevent the frequent passage of funerals from the northern to the southern part of St. Margaret's, Henry VIII., in the year 1535, built a new cemetery on the other side of the Palace, viz. in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

'In a map belonging to the library of the Antiquarian Society, and said to be copied from an old MS. survey, we find the Great Hall with the Chapel and Vestry represented as situate very near the river; the bridge or landing-place, now Whitehall Stairs; the great gate with its towers on the west, next the road leading to the courtyard, and the Banqueting House (Queen Elizabeth) looking southwards into the Privy Garden. The map also shows many other erections, some of which appear to have been residences and offices belonging to the original archiepiscopal palace.'²

¹ Wagner's *Names and their Meanings* (1897).

² *London in the Olden Time*, William Newton, 1855.

Very little was done to improve the Palace in the reigns of Edward VI., Mary I., and Queen Elizabeth, but the last-named sovereign is known to have built what Stow calls 'the old rotten slight-built Banqueting House.' In her reign England was visited by a German traveller named Hentzner, who, in the year 1598, gives, in his '*Itinerarium*,' a graphic description of the Queen, and refers to Whitehall Palace. He looked upon it, he says, as a 'truly royal structure,' but adds that he considered that it was furnished in a peculiar fashion. 'Near the Palace,' he continues, 'are seen an immense number of swans, who wander up and down the river for some miles in great security, no one daring to molest, much less to kill, any of them, under penalty of a considerable fine.'¹

The Palace had fallen into a dilapidated condition in the time of James I., and the King thought it desirable to rebuild it on a magnificent scale. For this purpose he secured the services of Inigo Jones, who, by the bye, was appointed Surveyor-General on October 1, 1613. The only part of the plan that was carried out, however, was the Banqueting House: a circumstance owing, it is stated, to the immense extravagance of the Court. This is 'the more to be regretted as the design appears to have been admirable, and the part executed furnishes a proof of the great talents of the architect.'² Indeed,

¹ Hentzner's *Itinerarium*, Walpole's edit. p. 29.

² *London, or Interesting Memorials*, by Sholto and Reuben Percy 1823, vol. iv.

to quote the words of another writer, 'the Whitehall of Inigo Jones is an unrealised dream.'

According to Mr. Loftie, one of the first things that King James I. undertook was 'to build new stabling and a barn in the mews, on the site now occupied by Trafalgar Square.' In addition to these 'many fair lodgings were new builded and increased.'

If Inigo Jones's design had been carried out, the Palace would have extended in length 1,152 feet on the bank of the Thames, north and south, and 874 feet east and west. The front facing the river was to have been raised on piles running a great distance into the water. Ferguson rightly remarks that the mistake of Jones's conception was 'the vastness of its scale, for it was as far beyond the means, as beyond the wants, of James I.' It was Jones's intention that the Palace should have four fronts, with square towers at the angles, a large central quadrangle, 245 feet square, oblong in shape, and six smaller quadrangles. 'The central of the three side courts on the west, lying towards the river, was to have two corridors surrounding it; and the Persian Court or Circus on the east, in diameter 210 feet in the plan, consisted of an arcade, with figures of Persians between the arches, and an upper story, the entablature of which was supported by caryatides; fountains, statues of marble and bronze, a broad water terrace, and flower gardens were designed to fill up the whole magnificent composition.'



VIEW OF THE RIVER FRONT OF THE PROJECTED PALACE AT WHITEHALL, BY INIGO JONES.
(*From the Engraving in the British Museum, published in 1748.*)

It is a curious fact that Inigo Jones made three sets of designs for the rebuilding of Whitehall Palace, all of which differ from one another. The originals, it may be added, were, in November 1716, in the possession of Dr. Clarke, of All Saints', Oxford, who, at his death, bequeathed them to the library of Worcester College, Oxford.¹ One of these sets consisted of views of the front of the Palace. It may be seen in Campbell's '*Vitruvius Britannicus*,' published in 1717. The author informs us that he obtained it for his book 'from that ingenious gentleman, William Emmet, of Bromley, in the county of Kent, Esquire.'² The second set, consisting of fifty-seven plates, included the elevations of the fronts, as well as plans and sections; and the third set consisted of large prints of the four fronts, and was published by Lord Burlington, in 1748.³

Copies of two of these are to be seen in Brayley's '*Londiniana*,' and are 'practically the same, having square corner towers, and splendid central compartments. The front towards the river has an embankment, with flights of stairs leading to the water; that toward the street looks upon an ornamental tank or pond, surrounded with alternate shrubs and statues. All these, taken together, Lord Orford has said he believes were from

¹ Warton's *Works of A. Pope, Esq.*, iii. 322.

² *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Colin Campbell.

³ Kent's *Inigo Jones's Designs*, i. (1727).

unfinished designs; and the first set here mentioned he, in particular, declares to be, in his opinion, evidently made up from general hints.¹

And in the same sense, Mr. Dallaway writes: 'The Four Great Sheets' (those published by Lord Burlington) 'are evidently made up from general hints; nor could such a source of invention and taste as "The Mind of Inigo" ever produce so much sameness. The strange kind of cherubims on the towers at the end are preposterous ornaments, and, whether of Inigo or not, bear no relation to the rest. The great towers in the front are too near, and evidently borrowed from what he had seen in Gothic, not Roman, buildings. The circular court (within the quadrangle) is a picturesque thought, but without meaning or utility. The whole fabric, however, was such a glorious idea that one forgets for a moment, in the regret for its not being executed, the confirmation of our liberties obtained by a melancholy scene that passed before the windows of that very Banqueting House.'²

Charles I., on his accession, is said to have contemplated a reconstruction of the Palace of Whitehall. He employed, we know, Rubens to paint the ceiling, and he intended to commission Vandyck to paint the walls of the Banqueting Hall. But, so far as building was concerned, he does not seem to have accomplished very much,

¹ *Anecdotes of Painting* (1728), ii. 266.

² Walpole's *Works*, iii. 270.



INIGO JONES.

(From an Engraving by R. Van Voerst, after a Portrait by Sir A. Van Dyck.)

partly on account of his poverty, and partly, in all probability, because of the outbreak of the Civil Wars. Mention, however, is made in the 'Strafford Papers' of a great room which was built by the King for the performance of masques that coming winter.

'A great room is now building, only for this use, betwixt the Guard Chamber and Banqueting House, of fir, only weather-boarded and slightly covered. I saw one set up there, but not of such vastness that this will be, which will cost too much money to be pulled down, and yet down it must come when the masques are over.'¹ And, indeed, the building does not seem to have remained in position many years, for in the 'Journals of the House of Commons,' dated July 16, 1645, eight years after its erection, there is this notice respecting it: 'Ordered that the boarded Masque House at Whitehall . . . and the Courts of Guard be forthwith pulled down and sold away.'

After the Restoration, Sir Christopher Wren was commissioned to make sets of designs for the rebuilding of the Palace. They were three in number; one set of three he drew up in the reign of Charles II., and the other two sets in the reign of William and Mary, after the fire in 1698. One of these two sets consisted of eight numbers, and the other of four.² But though these first designs were put in

¹ *Strafford Papers*, ii. 130.

² *Wren's Parentalia*, p. 334.

hand, Charles II. took no further steps in the matter of remodelling the Palace.

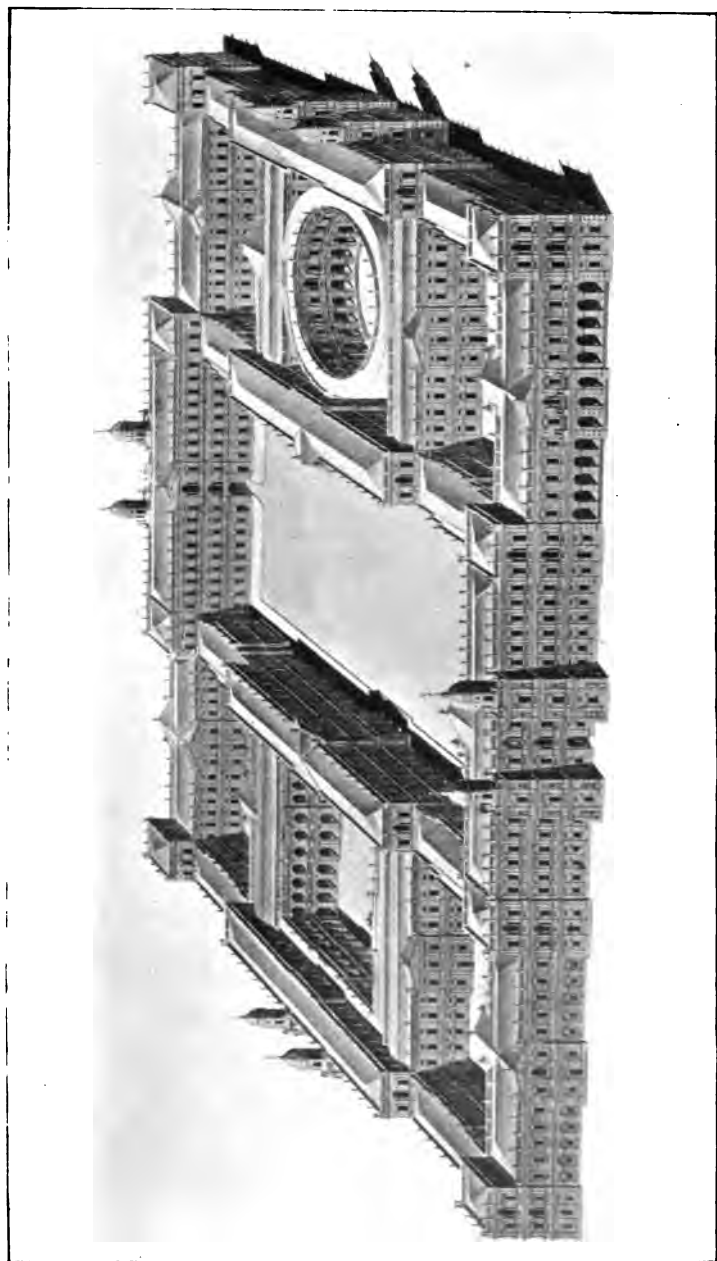
The following is an entry in Evelyn's 'Diary':

1664. *September 27.*—Being casually in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall, his Ma^y gave me thanks before divers Lords and Noblemen for my Book of Architecture. . . . He then caus'd me to follow him alone to one of ye windows, and ask'd me if I had any paper about me unwritten and a crayon: I presented him with both, and then laying it on ye window stool, he with his own hands design'd to me the plot for the future building of Whitehall, together with the roomes of State and other particulars.

The Palace was of immense size in the days of Charles II., according to Pennant. It extended, he says, 'along the river, and in front along the present Parliament Street and Whitehall Street as far as Scotland Yard, and on the other side of those streets to the turning into Spring Gardens beyond the Admiralty, looking into St. James's Park.'

Sir Walter Besant, in his 'Westminster,' referring to the plan of the Palace in the time of Charles II., says:—

On the south side, the Palace began with the Bowling Green; next to this was the Privy Garden, a large piece of ground laid out formally. The front of the Palace consisted of the Banqueting Hall, the present Whitehall, the Gate and Gate Tower. The Gate opened upon a series of three courts or quadrangles: the first and most important, called 'The Court,' had on its west side the Banqueting House; on the south side there was a row of offices or chambers; on the north a low covered way connecting the Banqueting Hall with the other chambers; on the east



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF PROJECTED PALACE AT WHITEHALL.
(From an Engraving by T. M. Miller, after the original Drawing by Inigo Jones.)

side was the Great Hall or Presence Chamber, the Chapel, and the private rooms of the King and Queen. This part of the Palace contained what was left of the old York House. The second court, that into which the principal gate opened, was called the 'Court-yard.' By this court was the way to the Audience Chamber and Council Chamber, the Chapel, the Offices of the Palace and the Water Gate. The Art Collections and Library were placed in the Stone Gallery, which ran along the east side of the Privy Garden. A third court was called 'Scotland Yard.' In this court was the Guard House. Beyond the Banqueting Hall and the Gate House there is a broad street—now Parliament Street,¹ then a portion of the Palace. On the side where, in King Henry's reign, were the Tilt-yard and the Cock-pit are the old Horse Guards, and Wallingford House, afterwards the Admiralty.

Sir Walter adds that though the Palace, as constituted in the time of Charles II., was 'without dignity and without nobility, one wishes that it had remained to the present day.'

In Brayley's '*Londiniana*' there is a description of Whitehall by Monsieur Josevin de Rochford, a Frenchman, who visited England in the reign of Charles II., and upon returning to his native land wrote down his impressions and published them in a book that appeared in Paris in 1672. His reference to the Palace is as follows :—

Whitehall consists of a Great Court surrounded by buildings without either symmetry or beauty worth mentioning, having a Chapel which occupies an entire face of that court and looks towards the gate through which one enters, where, on the right hand, there is a great pavilion

¹ Since pulled down (1899) to make way for improvements.

with many windows, which seems newly built, and fronts towards the place before the Palace; but on the side looking towards the river there is a garden in which is a 'parterre,' many statues of marble and bronze, well executed, and a terrace by the side of the river. These would be the most striking parts of this Palace were it not that on the other side there is this advantage, that one may from thence pass, by means of a gallery which goes over the street, into the Great Park and the beautiful garden of St. James.¹

Pennant also gives the size of the Palace in the time of Charles II. He gathers his information from Fisher's plan, engraved by Vertue and dated 1680²—a plan in which one is struck by the number of 'separate residences' contained in the Palace.

'It extended,' says Pennant, 'along the river, and in front along the present Parliament and Whitehall Streets as far as Scotland Yard, and on the other side of those streets, to the turning into Spring Gardens beyond the Admiralty, looking into St. James's Park. The King, Queen, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, and all the great officers and all the courtly train had their lodgings within these walls, and all the Royal Family had their different offices, such as kitchens, cellars, pantries, spiceries, cyder-house, bakehouse, washyards, coalyards, and slaughter-houses.'

Fisher's plan enables us to fix the 'identical spot' inhabited by the Chiffinches, whose apartments

¹ Brayley's *Londiniana*. Travels of Mons. J. de Rochford. Paris, 1672.

² 'Exception is taken to this date, 1680. Vertue might have dated it with safety before 1670, not, as he has done, 1680, seeing that Sir John Denham and the Duke of Albemarle, whose apartments are marked, were both dead before 1670, and, in 1680, Dr. Wren was Sir Christopher Wren, and the Countess of Castelmaine was the Duchess of Cleveland.' (Cunningham, *Handbook for London*, ii. 913.)

adjoined the water entrance and the back stairs, by the Killigrews, by Prince Rupert, and by the Duke of Ormonde.

This Prince Rupert would seem to have been a lover of dogs, judging from the two following notices, which appeared in the 'London Gazette' in the month of October, 1667 :—

(1) On Wednesday, the ninth instant, were lost a brace of greyhounds of his Highness Prince Rupert's, the one a large white young dog with a thick black head, with a chain and small collar; the other a cole black dog, with a small collar. If any person hath taken them up, they are desired either to send or bring them to his Highness' lodgings in the Stone Gallerie in Whitehall, where they shall be well rewarded for them. ('London Gazette,' No. 200.)

(2) Lost in Dean's Yard, Westminster, on the 26th of October last, a young white spaniel, about six months old, with a black head, red eyebrows, and a black spot upon his back. Lost, also about the same time, near Camberwell, a Yorkshire Buckhound, having black spots upon his back, red ears and a wall eye, and P. R. upon his shoulder; both belonging to his Highness Prince Rupert; if any one can bring them to Prince Rupert's lodgings in the Stone Gallerie at Whitehall he shall be well rewarded for his pains. ('London Gazette,' No. 207.)

Pepys and Evelyn, in their respective 'Diaries,' allude to the chief apartments in Whitehall Palace, which were as follows :—

1. The *Matted Gallery*, where Mr. Pepys tells us there was a ceiling by Holbein.
2. The *Gallery of Henry VIII.*, which, we

imagine, was the one that led over the Holbein Gate into St. James's Park. It was into this gallery that Mr. Pepys tells us that he was locked, when, upon the accession of William and Mary, he had retired into private life; but the malice of his enemies procured his committal to the Gate House for a spell, under the pretence of his being affected to the exiled monarch, King James.¹

3. The *Boarded Gallery*, of which little or nothing is known. Mr. Pepys tells us that he could not get into it.

4. The *Shield Gallery*, which Mr. Loftie thinks must be 'that spoken of by Manningham at the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth' as decorated with 'escutcheons,' and containing a 'balcone.' It was here that Pepys saw the King bid adieu to Montagu. 'I did see,' he says, 'with what kindness the King did hug my Lord at his parting.'

5. The *Stone Gallery*, which overlooked the sun-dial lawn, and which was destroyed in the first fire and never rebuilt. This gallery ran along the east side of the Privy Gardens, and in it were collected the Art Treasures and Library of Books.

6. The *Vane Room*.

7. The *Guard Room*, which is mentioned by Lilly, the astrologer.

8. The *Adam and Eve Gallery*, so called from a picture which now hangs on the walls of Hampton Court Palace, and which is said to be by Mabuse.

¹ *Life of Samuel Pepys*, i. 26.

Pepys mentions, in 1666, a *Dining Room*, but he does not say where it was situated.

It was in the drawing-room at Whitehall that the Lords received Charles II. on May 29, 1660. This fact is recorded in an interesting passage from Lord Macaulay's 'Letters.' 'I have a letter,' he writes, 'from Guizot, full of kind compliments. He asks a question about the place where the Lords received Charles II. on May 29, 1660. It is odd that a foreigner should trouble himself about so minute a matter. I went to the Royal Institution, got down the Journals, and soon found that the Lords were in the drawing-room at Whitehall. The Commons were in the Banqueting House.'¹

In the Privy Chamber was a painting, by Holbein, of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. with their Queens, a copy of which is to be seen at Hampton Court.

'On another wall,' says Mr. Cunningham, 'was a "Dance of Death," also by Holbein, of which Douce has given a description; and in the bed-chamber of Charles II. a representation, by Wright, of the King's birth, his right to his dominions, and his miraculous preservation, with this motto: "Terras Astræa revisit."'²

Cunningham tells us that he thinks that the best engravings of the old Palace of Whitehall are those that are copied into the 'Londina Illustrata,' but he mentions three other good views—one, the water-

¹ *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ii. 388.

² Cat. of Ashm. MSS. 475.

front, showing the privy stairs, published in the reign of William III., and engraved at the top of Morden and Lea's map; another, the 'Banqueting House,' in Kip's 'Nouveau Théâtre,' inscribed 'H. Teresson delin. et sculp. 1713,' in which there is a view of the curious entrance gate on the north side, and a wall 'bristled with cannon' on the south side; and a third, which is 'preserved in the famous caricature of the "Motion," executed in 1742, and which Horace Walpole commends so highly in his letters.'

Mr. Wheatley, in his 'Pepysiana,' draws our attention to the curious fact that though the 'Diary' makes frequent mention of Charles II., it was not till June 24, 1664, at the commencement of his Majesty's reign, that Mr. Pepys was 'intimately associated' with the King. Upon that date, Mr. Pepys tells us that he went through the private apartments of the Palace, where he not only saw pictures of great value, but Mr. Pierce showed to him 'the Queen's bedchamber, and closett where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures and books of devotion, and her holy water at her head, as she sleeps, with her clock by her bedside, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time.'¹

James II., on his accession to the throne, at once began to make various additions to, and altera-

¹ Pepys's *Diary*, iv. 168.

tions and improvements in, the Palace, all of which were completed in the following year. Evelyn thus refers to them :—

October 18, 1685.—The King was now building all that range from east to west by ye Court and Garden to ye streete, and making a new Chapel for ye Queene, whose lodgings were to be in this new building, as also a new Council Chamber, and Offices next ye south end of ye Banqueting House.

When William III. succeeded to the throne, he seriously thought of rebuilding the Palace after the designs of Inigo Jones, and it seems that a certain Mr. Weedon was commissioned to make a model of the latter that might be placed before the King.¹ Nothing, however, was done in the matter, although for many years the various leases granted of parts of the Palace contained power to resume possession in the event of a rebuilding of the Palace being begun. But it was during this reign that an embankment, called Queen Mary's Terrace, was made behind the Palace.² This embankment is shown on a plan, which belongs to the year 1773.

The Palace itself remained as it was till the disastrous fire in 1698, which almost completely destroyed it.

With the fall of the House of Stuart, therefore, the old Palace of Whitehall practically ceased to exist. One or two not insignificant traces of the

¹ *Strype*, Book VI. p. 6.

² *Report to Parliament*, 1860, p. 120.

old building, however, remain ; one, as Mr. Smirke tells us, 'is the basement of a house at Whitehall Yard, commonly called "Cromwell House,"' which he thinks is undoubtedly the work of Cardinal Wolsey. Besides that there are 'a part of the river wall in which some of the circular bastions are distinguishable ; a few fragments of other walls of no importance, and a more considerable fragment, in which occur two stone mullioned windows of Tudor architecture, at the back of the Almonry Offices (Spring Gardens).' This wall coincides, he thinks, with the back wall of the apartments of the 'Yeomen of the Wodd Yard,' as shown on Fisher's plan. He adds that 'some old walls, forming at present part of the Treasury buildings, are no doubt the remains of some of Henry's additions to this palace.'¹

Owing to its proximity to the river, and to the fact that it stood on very low ground, Whitehall Palace, including the York House of previous years, was very often flooded at the time of the spring tides. An exceptionally severe visitation of this kind is thus recorded by Pepys in his 'Diary':—

December 7, 1663.—At Whitehall I hear and find that there was the last night the greatest tide that ever was remembered in England to have been in this river ; all Whitehall having been drowned, of which there was great discourse.

¹ *Archæologia* (1834), vol. xxv. Letter of Sydney Smirke, Esq., F.S.A., to Henry Ellis, Esq., F.R.S.



WHITEHALL ABOUT 1860.
(From a Drawing by Hollar in the British Museum.)



WHITEHALL IN 1877.
(From Ogilby's Map of London in the British Museum.)

The kitchens of the Palace were liable to be flooded when the tide rose to an unusual height. Pepys relates the following story in illustration of the inconvenience which arose from such inundations. Lady Castlemaine, soon after the birth of her son, the Duke of Grafton, was about to entertain the King at supper, when, to her dismay, the cook told her that the flood had risen to such an extent that it had extinguished the kitchen fire, and that, in consequence, the beef for the supper could not be roasted. 'Zounds!' replied her Ladyship, 'you may set the house on fire but the beef shall be roasted.' And it was roasted, though not at the Palace; it was carried 'to Mrs. Sarah's husband,' and there cooked.¹

It will be remembered that Charles II., in a speech which he delivered in the Banqueting House to the Houses of Lords and Commons, on March 1, 1661, upon the occasion of his reception of them after his Restoration, thus alludes to the rising of the water at Whitehall:—

The mention of my wife's arrival puts me in mind to desire you to put that compliment upon her, that her entrance into the town may be with more decency than the ways will now suffer it to be: and to that purpose I pray you would quickly pass such laws as are before you, in order to the mending those ways, and that she may not find Whitehall surrounded with water.

Again, Lord Dorset, in one of his well-known

¹ Pepys's *Diary*, October 13, 1663.

songs, 'To all you ladies now on land,' refers to this periodical inundation of the Palace :—

The King with wonder and surprise
 Will swear the seas grow bold,
 Because the tides will higher rise
 Than e'er they used of old ;
 But let him know it is our tears
 Bring floods of grief to Whitehall Stairs.
 With a fa, la, la, la, &c., &c.

Some interesting details of the King's Court may be mentioned here. They are to be found in a curious old book, published in the year 1690, seven years prior to the destruction of Whitehall Palace. 'The Court where the King resides is a place so sacred that if any man presume to strike another there and only draw blood, his right hand shall be cut off, and he (shall be) committed to perpetual imprisonment and fined.'¹ Indeed, striking of any kind, 'all occasions of striking,' was strictly forbidden, and any infringement of this prohibition was severely punished. To give one illustration, it may be mentioned that in the year 1687 the Earl of Devonshire was fined the large sum of 30,000*l.* for striking a certain Mr. Culpeper with his cane in the Vane Chamber at Whitehall.

The same book tells us that the King's Court would not only compare favourably with the best court in Christendom, but that it far excelled most

¹ *Angliæ Metropolis, or Present State of London, with Memorials.* Thomas Delaune, 1690, p. 93.

foreign courts 'for magnificence, order, number, and quality of officers, rich furniture, entertainment, and civility to strangers, and for plentiful table.' This 'prodigious plenty in the King's Court caused foreigners to put a high value upon the King, and was much for the honour of the kingdom.' We are also told that not only were noblemen and gentlemen subjects lavishly entertained, but that even strangers were admitted to the privileges at the tables of the King's officers. The book goes on to say that 'divers dishes were provided every day extraordinary for the King's honour. Two hundred and forty gallons of beer a day were allowed at the Buttery Bar for the poor, besides all the broken meat, bread, etc. gathered into baskets and given to the poor at the Court gates by two grooms and two Yeomen of the Almonry, who have salaries of his Majesty for that service.'

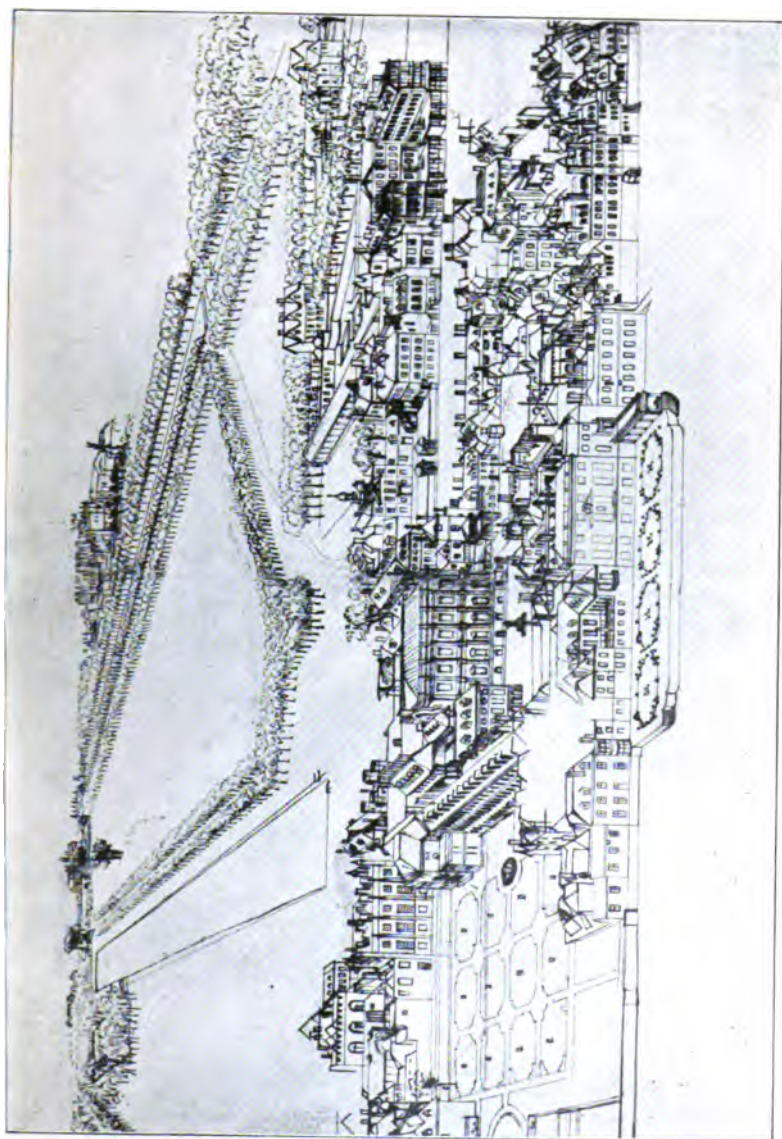
The bountiful supply of food at the King's tables was a source of wonder and amazement to foreigners. There were many of these tables. In the reign of Charles I. eighty-six of them were daily provided with a plentiful supply of food at each meal, 'whereof the King's table had twenty-eight dishes and the Queen's twenty-four.' There were four other tables, each provided with sixteen dishes; three other tables with ten dishes each; twelve with seven dishes; seventeen with five dishes; thirty with four; thirty-two with three; and thirteen with two—in

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all about 500 dishes each meal, with bread, beer, wine, and all other things necessary.'

Besides the above there was used in the Palace of the King the following amazing quantity of what is termed 'gross meat : '—' 1,500 oxen, 7,000 sheep, 1,200 veals, 300 porkers, 400 sturks or young beefs, 6,800 lambs, 300 flitches of bacon, and 26 boars.' Large quantities of fish, game, and venison were also consumed, while the poultry used within the Palace figured thus :—140 dozen of geese, 250 dozen of capons, 470 dozen of hens, 750 dozen of pullets, and 1,470 dozen of chickens; 36,400 bushels of wheat were used in the making of the bread, and the consumption of wine amounted to 600 tons, and of beer to 1,700 tons.

The servants of the King being, it seems, 'men of quality,' had to go by his Majesty's special orders, 'in Parliament time and in Term time,' to Westminster Hall 'to invite gentlemen to eat of the King's Arcates or viands.'



WHITEHALL PALACE IN 1714.
(From a Drawing by Kip in the British Museum.)

CHAPTER III

THE BANQUETING HOUSE

THE Banqueting House or Hall is the only important portion of the famous Palace of Whitehall that now exists. There is no building in London 'more sentimentally and historically connected with the life of the nation,' and it is strange to reflect upon the various uses to which it has been put in the course of its existence. Installations, masques, and other ceremonies, have from time to time taken place within its walls; in the reign of Charles II. it was the scene of a sale of the famous collection of pictures of the Duke of Mantua; upon the accession of George I. it was converted into a Chapel Royal, and was used as such for the performance of Divine Service till the autumn of the year 1890, when it was lent by her late Majesty¹ to the Royal United Service Institution.

There are many references in this work to a Banqueting House that Queen Elizabeth added to the Palace, and the reader must not confuse that building with the one we are about to discuss at length in this chapter. Elizabeth's Banqueting

¹ Queen Victoria.

House, which was situated in the south-west side of the Palace, was erected in the spring of 1581, in order to give honour and solemnity to the reception of the embassy despatched by Queen Catherine de Medicis to propose a marriage between her son, the Duke of Anjou, and the Queen of England.¹ This Banqueting House or Hall, in which there were 292 panes of glass, was built in the shape of a long square, the walls being covered with canvas and painted outside with what Holinshead calls 'rustic work.'

The sides within of the same house were made with ten heights of degrees for people to stand upon, and in the top of this house was wrought cunningly upon canvas works of ivy and holly, with pendants made of wicker rods, garnished with bay, ivy, and all manner of strange flowers, garnished with spangles of gold, as also beautified with hanging toscans made of holly and ivy with all manner of strange fruits, as pomegranates, oranges, pompions, cucumbers, grapes, with such other like, spangled with gold, and most richly hanged. Betwixt these works of bays and ivy were great spaces of canvas, which was most cunningly painted, the clouds with stars, the sunne and sunbeams with diverse other cotes of sundry sorts, belonging to the Queene's Majesty, most richly garnished with gold.²

Elizabeth's Banqueting House existed till 1606, when James I., who had intended to build a magnificent palace³ at Whitehall, gave orders that this

¹ See chapter on 'Marriages in Whitehall.'

² Letter of Lord Talbot in Lodge.

³ The original designs for the palace which the King intended to

'old rotten slight-built Banqueting House'¹ should be pulled down; and a new one, 'very strong and stately, being every way larger than the first,'² was commenced in the following year.

On January 12, 1619, at about 10 A.M. a fire raged in this building 'from end to end, and side to side, before it was discerned or described by any persons or passengers either by scent or smoke, at sight whereof the Court, being sore amazed, sent speedy news to the Great Lords of the Council, who were then but newly set in the Guildhall in London, about excessive and disorderly buildings; but they all arose and returned to Whitehall, and gave directions to the multitude of people to suppress the flame, and by hook to pull down some other adjoining buildings, to prevent the furious fire, and so by their care and the people's labour the flame was quite extinct by twelve o'clock.'³

In the 'furious fire' thus graphically described by Stow, the damage done included the burning down of certain lodgings, as well as the destruction of the Records and Writings in the Office of the Privy Signet, which happened to be situated immediately below.

The present Banqueting House was begun soon after this fire, in 1619, and was completed within the space of three years, at a cost of 14,940*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*⁴

erect were bequeathed by Dr. Clarke, of All Souls' College, Oxford, to Worcester College, Oxford. (See *supra*, Ch. ii. p. 19).

¹ Howe's edition of Stow's *Annals*, p. 891.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 1031.

⁴ Kent's *Inigo Jones*

It was, says Mr. Loftie, part of a design intended to cover a space of 1,152 feet by 874 feet, and it was the only portion of King James's vast scheme for rebuilding Whitehall Palace which was ever carried out. This Hall, therefore, 'besides being the sole relic of a Whitehall that never existed, is also the sole relic of the Whitehall that was.'

The architectural merits of that beautiful relic were immediately recognised, and have never, we fancy, been disputed.

'Here our excellent architect,' writes Colin Campbell in his '*Vitruvius Britannicus*,' 'has introduced strength with politeness, ornament with simplicity, beauty with majesty; it is without doubt or dispute the finest room in the world.' Nor is this verdict the offspring of mere insular prejudice. Foreign opinion, in the person of a French architect, Azout, who visited England in the year 1685, declared that this Banqueting Hall was 'the most finished of the modern buildings on this side the Alps,' and in Delaune's '*Angliæ Metropolis*' (1690) we read, 'There is a most magnificent and stately Banqueting House, built by James I.' 'It is so complete in itself,' writes Walpole, 'that it stands a model of the most pure and beautiful taste.'

As to the cost of the building and the defrayment thereof we find a few interesting details recorded.

Inigo Jones himself was paid the sum of 37*l.* upon the Council's Warrant of June 27, 1619, 'for making two several models, the one for the

Star Chamber, and the other for the Banqueting House.' ¹ As Surveyor-General of Works he received eight shillings and fourpence per day and 46*l.* per annum in lieu of a house. He was, moreover, allowed the services of a clerk, and there were also certain incidental expenses which were paid for him.

Master mason to the King was Nicholas Stone, who died on August 24, 1647. In his 'Notes,' published by Walpole, we are told that he retained that post for upwards of two years, during which time he was paid four shillings and tenpence the day. ²

The wages of the masons employed were from twelve pence to two shillings and sixpence per day ; the carpenters' pay was at the same rate, while the bricklayers received from fourteen pence to two shillings and twopence per day.

The amount of the total expenses is indicated by Mr. Peter Cunningham, ³ who mentions the fact that he discovered the roll of the account of the paymaster of the works of the 'Charges in building a Banqueting House at Whitehall and erecting a new Pier in the Isle of Portland for conveyance of stone from thence to Whitehall.' From this account it would appear that the sum received by the paymaster was 15,663*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* The expenses

¹ *Revels at Court*, p. 45.

² Walpole's *Nicholas Stone* ; Dallaway, ii. 58.

³ Cunningham, *Handbook for London*, ii. 915.

of the pier were 712*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*, and of the Banqueting House 14,940*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, 'the expenditure exceeding the receipts by 5*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.*' It seems, moreover, that this account, which is preserved in the Audit Office, was not settled till June 29, 1633, eleven years after the completion of the building, and eight after the death of King James.

The Banqueting House, which was originally intended by King James to be one of four similar buildings, is thus described in the account to which reference has already been made :¹—

A new building with a vault under the same in length 110 feet, and in width 55 feet within; the wall of the foundation being in thickness 14 feet, and in depth 10 feet within ground, brought up with brick; the first story to the height of 16 feet wrought of Oxfordshire stone, cut into rustique on the outside, and brick on the inside; the walls 8 feet thick, with a vault turned over on great square pillars of brick, and paved in the bottom with Purbeck-stone; the walls and vaulting laid with finishing mortar; the upper story being the Banqueting House, 55 feet in height, to the laying on off the roof; the walls 5 feet thick and wrought of Northamptonshire stone, cut in rustique, with two orders of columns and pilasters, Ionic and Composite, with their architrave, frieze, and cornice and other ornaments; also rails and ballusters round about the top of the building, all of Portland stone, with 14 windows on each side, and one great window at the upper end; five doors of stone with frontispiece and cartoozes; the inside brought up with brick, finished over with two orders of columns and pilasters, part of stone and part of brick, with their architectural frieze and cornice, with a gallery upon the two sides, and the lower end borne upon great cartoozes of

¹ *Revels at Court* p. 45.



ONE COMPARTMENT OF THE CEILING OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL AT WHITEHALL,
PAINTED BY SIR P. P. RUBENS.

(From a Print in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)

timber, carved, with rails and ballusters of timber, and the floor laid with spruce deals ; a strong timber roof covered with lead, and under it a ceiling divided into a fret, made of great cornices enriched with carving ; with painting, glazing, etc., for performance thereof, a great quantity of stone hath been digged at Portland quarry, in the County of Dorset, and Huddlestone quarry in the County of York.

A lofty gallery runs along the two sides, and across the end of the Hall, which is 115 feet in length, 60 feet in breadth, and 55 feet in height. But the chief point of interest in the interior of the building is, of course, the ceiling, for which Charles I., at the beginning of his reign, in 1630, employed the services of Rubens, who had been sent to England by the Infanta Isabella as ambassador from Flanders. Rubens was paid 3,000*l.* for the work, in which, according to Sir Godfrey Kneller, he was assisted by Jordaens. The sketches were made in England, probably upon the spot ; but the actual painting was executed and completed in Antwerp in the year 1635.¹ Some writers have thought that Rubens painted the ceiling in the reign of James I., but there can be little doubt that it was executed in the reign of Charles I., who not only paid the artist for the work, but also knighted him.²

It is a fact, as interesting to learn as it is tantalising to reflect upon, that Charles I. was in treaty with Van Dyck to paint on the walls the history of the Order of the Garter, but death prevented that

¹ Carpenter's *Van Dyck*, p. 173.

² Walpole's *Life of Inigo Jones*.

artist from entering on his task,¹ as the outbreak of the Civil War would have prevented him from completing it or being paid for it had he lived. It was estimated that the commission would have necessitated an outlay of 80,000*l.*,² and even under the most favourable conditions there would have been some difficulty in paying so huge a bill. But though the idea was destined never to be put into practice, it was, in itself, an excellent one, as worthy of the good taste of the royal patron as of the admirable art of the painter. The story of the Order of the Garter would lend itself perfectly to decorative treatment. It is a story too well known to need repetition here.³

Dr. Waagen, the celebrated German art-critic, gives us the following description of the ceiling,

¹ De Piles's *History of Painters*.

² Fenton's *Waller*, notes, p. 37 ; Walpole's *Works*, i. 235.

³ Less well-known, however, are the habit and insignia of this Order, and since in the course of our work we shall have to refer more than once to the investiture thereof, it may be useful to give some account of them here. The habit and insignia of the Order of the Garter consist of the mantle of blue velvet, which is lined with white taffeta, and embroidered on the left side with a star bearing the motto, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense.' The hood is of crimson velvet, and the surcoat is of the same material, also lined with white. The hat of black velvet has a plume of white ostrich feathers, from the middle of which springs a tuft of black heron's feathers, all fastened to the hat by a band of diamonds. The garter itself is of dark blue velvet edged with gold, bearing the motto in gold letters, while both the buckle and pendant are of richly wrought gold. The collar is of gold, and consists of twenty-six pieces, to which is attached a beautiful little figure of St. George spearing the dragon, which is done in gold and enamel. A lesser George is worn pendant to a dark blue ribbon over the left shoulder, while the silver star has eight points ; in the centre it carries the star and motto, and is surrounded by the garter.

together with an appreciation, or rather depreciation, of Rubens's work in its present condition.

The ceiling, divided into nine compartments, is decorated with so many oil paintings by Rubens. The largest in the centre, of an oval form, contains the apotheosis of King James I. On the two long sides of it are great friezes with genii, who load sheaves of corn and fruit in carriages, drawn by lions, bears, and rams. All the proportions are so colossal that each of these boys measures nine feet. The other two pictures in the centre row represent King James as Protector of Peace, and, sitting on his throne, appointing Prince Charles as his successor. The four pictures at the sides of these contain allegorical representations of royal power and virtue. These paintings, executed in 1630 by commission from King Charles I., have by no means given me satisfaction. Independently of the inconvenience of looking at them, all large ceiling paintings have an oppressive, heavy, and—as ornaments to the architecture—unfavourable effect, for which reason the refined judgment of the ancients never allowed of them, but was content with light decorations on a bright ground. Least of all are the colossal and heavy figures of Rubens adapted to such a purpose. Not to speak of the repulsive coldness of all allegories, the over-charging and clumsiness of those of Rubens are not calculated to make them attractive, and lastly, the character and reign of James I. could scarcely inspire him with any poetical enthusiasm. There is little doubt that the greater part was originally executed by the pupils of Rubens, as was subsequently the case with the series of the Life of Mary di Medicis in the Louvre; add to this that these pictures have already undergone four restorations.¹

This ceiling is 'painted black, partly gilded, and divided into panels by bands ornamented with a

¹ Waagen's *Art and Artists in England*, iii. 17.

guilloche.' Of the three central compartments, that at the 'altar end represents the British Solomon on his throne, pointing to Prince Charles who is being perfected by Wisdom;' the middle compartment shows him 'trampling on the globe, and flying, on the wings of Justice (an eagle), to heaven;' in the third he is 'embracing Minerva and routing Rebellion and Envy.'¹

It was stated above that the ceiling has been restored on four occasions. In the reign of George II. it was renovated by Kent, and in the year 1785 by Cipriani, who, according to Pennant, received 2,000*l.* for his work; while, in 1837, the whole building, which had been closed since 1829 (upwards of eight years), was entirely repaired at a cost, it is said, of nearly 15,000*l.*, the ceiling being restored under the direction of Sir Robert Smirke. In the course of this restoration a gallery, which had been built for the use of the Guards, was removed.

We may now quit the interior of the building for a space, and mount to the roof of the Banqueting House, whence Pepys, in August 1662, witnessed the arrival in London of Charles II. and his bride after their marriage.

Mr. Creed and I walked down to the Tylt-yard and so all along Thames Street, but could not get a boat; I offered eight shillings for a boat to attend me this afternoon, and they would not, it being the daye of the Queene's comeing to Town from Hampton Court. So we fairly

¹ *English Illustrated Magazine*, 1884, i. 76.

walked it to Whitehall, and through my Lord's lodgings we got into White-Hall Garden, and so to the Bowling Greene, and up to the top of the new Banqueting House there, over the Thames, which was a most pleasant place as any I could have got ; and all the show consisted chiefly in the number of boats and barges and two pageants, one of a King and another of a Queene with her Maydes of Honour, sitting at her feet very prettily, and they tell me the Queene is Sir Richard Ford's daughter. Anon come the King and Queene in a barge, under a Canopy, with a thousand barges and boats, I know, for we could see no water for them, nor discern the King nor Queene. And so they landed at White-Hall Bridge and the great guns on the other side went off. But that which pleased me best was, that my Lady Castlemaine stood over against us upon a piece of White-Hall. But methought it was strange to see her Lord and her upon the same place walking up and down without taking notice one of another ; only at first entry, he put off his hat, and she made him a very civil salute : but afterwards took no notice one of another : but both of them, now and then, would take their child, which the nurse held in her arms, and dandle it. . . . Anon there come one there booted and spurred that she talked along with. And by and by, she being in her haire, she put on his hat, which was but an ordinary one, to keep the wind off. But it become her mightily as everything else do.

James II. placed a large weathercock, surmounted by a cross, on the roof at the north end of the Banqueting House, opposite his own private apartments, in order that he might learn the direction of the wind while he was dreading the approach of the Dutch fleet, under the Prince of Orange. The weathercock still remains in its position, but the cross is no longer there.

Upon the accession of George I., in 1724, the Banqueting Hall was converted into a chapel, though, to judge by the following extract, which has a musical as well as an archæological interest, and is copied from the 'London Post' under date October 4, 1699, it would appear that the Banqueting House had been used as a chapel prior to this date. The extract runs as follows :—

A new organ is set up in the Banqueting House Chappel, with a Dial in the middle of it, this being the first of that make; the other is packt up in Boxes there, in order to be sent to Barbadoes.

The King presented some handsome gold plate for the use of the chapel, and attended the opening ceremony himself. Divine Service was held here regularly until the year 1891, without interruption, if we except the years 1829–1837, when the building was temporarily closed.

The reason for the conversion of the Banqueting House into a chapel may be traced to the exigencies created by the Great Fire of London. There is an etching, quarto size, of a 'Plan of Ruins of Whitehall, dated June 14, 1718,' to be found in Stukeley's 'Itinerarium Curiosum.' It is placed there incidentally, with the note that the walls (which apparently were those of the old hall and the old chapel of the Palace as well as of some adjoining buildings) were pulled down within a week afterwards.¹

When the Hall was put to its new use the need

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, vol. iv., July 1863.

of windows on the front floor made itself felt for the first time. Hitherto only the centre window on the east side had been opened. As late as 1761 the third and fifth were still built up. It was probably not till 1830, when the Hall was restored by Sir John Soane, that all the windows on the west side were opened, except those on the ground floor. The ground-floor windows were opened first for the United Service Institution. The statement was current on this occasion that they were merely being re-opened. But the statement was inaccurate, for, as a matter of fact, they had never been opened before.

We shall be on the safe side if we conclude, with Mr. Loftie, 'that the lowest tier of windows was only glazed in our own day; that those of the middle, the Ionic story, were still unglazed in 1649, and that in Sylvestre's view, taken about fifty years after the great tragedy, there was not a single glazed window on this western front. All the apparent openings were filled with masonry.'¹

With reference to one of the windows of the Banqueting House, we may mention here an ingenious theory which was based upon a fact recorded in Jesse's 'Memorials of London.'² The fact is, that when the Banqueting House was being adapted as a Chapel for the Guards it was discovered that a part of one of the windows had been removed and the masonry hastily replaced. The writer's theory,

¹ *The Portfolio* (Whitehall), W. J. Loftie.

² P. 225.

whatever it may be worth, was that this was the window through which Charles I. passed to the scaffold.

At the beginning of this century, Whitehall Chapel was the scene of one of those ceremonies which mark the close connection between our Church and State—between the Church Militant and the nation at war.

‘ On Saturday, May 18, 1811,’ we read, ‘ twelve Standards and Colours taken from the Enemy on different occasions, including the French Eagle, taken by the 87th Regiment at the Battle of Barrosa, were carried with military ceremonies from the Parade in St. James’s Park to Whitehall Chapel, and deposited on each side of the Altar. The spectacle, which was one of the finest ever witnessed, was attended by the Dukes of York and Cambridge; Sir R. Dundas; Generals Hope, Doyle, Calvert, and Phipps; the Spanish and Portuguese Ministers, besides a number of ladies of distinction.’ And, on September 30 of the following year, other French Eagles, captured at Salamanca, were placed, with military and appropriate ceremony, in the Royal Chapel at Whitehall.¹

Here the colours remained till the closing of the chapel, in 1829, when they were removed to Wellington Barracks, where they are still to be seen.

After the restoration of the chapel (formerly Banqueting House) at Whitehall, in 1837, William IV.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine.*

and Queen Adelaide attended the opening service in state, and this was the last time that his Majesty appeared at Divine Service in public. Members of the Royal Family have also attended services at Whitehall in the present reign. To give three noteworthy occasions:—Our gracious King and Queen, their present Majesties, as Prince and Princess of Wales, soon after their marriage in 1863, were present at a service there, the preacher being the late Dean (Stanley) of Westminster; their Majesties also attended a service there after the celebration of their Silver Wedding-day, when the sermon was preached by Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, who afterwards became Archbishop of York, and on this occasion they were accompanied by all their children, and also by the Crown Prince and Princess of Denmark; finally, at the time of the Queen's Jubilee, their Royal Highnesses attended Divine Service in Whitehall Chapel, accompanied by all their children, and by the Emperor and Empress Frederic, the preacher being the present Archbishop of Armagh, then Bishop of Derry (Dr. Alexander).

Ordinations were held only occasionally at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, till Dr. Tait became Bishop of London, when they took place alternately at Whitehall and at St. Paul's Cathedral; in the latter on Trinity Sunday, in the former at Advent. The last ordination service held in Whitehall Chapel was on December 20, 1868.

From the year 1864 to the year 1890 the Boyle lectures were delivered in Whitehall Chapel on the Sunday afternoons in the months of May, June, and part of July. This lectureship was founded by the will of the Hon. Robert Boyle, dated July 18, 1691, which provides for the annual payment of 50*l.* to some 'learned divine or preaching minister from time to time to be elected and resident within the City of London or Circuit of Bills of Mortality.' His duty is to preach eight sermons in the year, with the object of proving the truth of the Christian religion against 'notorious Infidels, viz. Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews and Mahometans,' and it is stipulated that he shall not deal with controversies among Christians themselves. The lecturer is appointed for any term not exceeding three years; he is elected and nominated by the trustees of the will; and an estate, called Upper Rushbeds, in the parish of Brill, in Bucks, is charged in perpetuity with the payment of the money to the trustees. Since the closing of Whitehall Chapel the lectures have been delivered in different London churches.

In July, 1890, the Chapel Royal Commissioners asked her Majesty's permission to discontinue Whitehall Chapel as a place of worship, and Lord George Hamilton, then in office, wrote to say that the Government would be glad to have the use of the building as a future home for the United Service Museum. The Commissioners, however, decided that they were not competent to offer an opinion as to the

disposal or future use of the building if it were no longer used as a chapel.

In October, 1890, Sir Henry Ponsonby wrote that the Queen approved the recommendation of the Commissioners and sanctioned the closing of the chapel; at the same time he informed them that her Majesty was 'glad to lend—from January 1, 1891—the Banqueting Hall to the United Service Institution on such terms as the Lord Chamberlain might consider advisable.'

The organ was given, on the closing of the chapel, to the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London; some of the stops, however, were taken from it and added to the organ at the Chapel Royal, St. James's.

On November 24, 1890, the following Communion Plate (silver gilt) which had been in use at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, was removed to the care of the Lord Steward:—

1.—Large altar candelabra, with scroll and foliage shafts, on triangular bases, ornamented with cherubs' heads, rosettes, and chased crown and cypher G.R. on each side of the base, three feet high.

2.—Large flagons, chased all over, nineteen inches high. The Royal Arms engraved on the front, and coronet and cypher D.L. chased on the cover of each.

3.—Smaller flagons, thirteen inches high. The Royal Arms, etc. engraved on the front of each.

4.—39-inch circular dish.

5.—Chalices with ornamented shafts and hexagonal feet, with cherubs' heads at each angle. The Royal Arms, etc.

engraved on one side, and a coronet and cypher D.L. on the reverse of each.

6.—7½-inch patens, with threaded borders; engraved with I.H.S. in centre.

7.—6-inch patens with the Royal Arms on bottom of each.

8.—18-inch circular dish; I.H.S. engraved in centre, with a border.

9.—14-inch circular dishes, plain.

10.—9-inch collecting plates, with crown and V.R. on bottom, plain.

11.—46-inch rod, plain.

Upon coming into possession of the Banqueting House, the Royal United Service Institution added a new building on the south side, the foundation-stone of which was laid by the Prince of Wales on June 6, 1893.



WHITEHALL IN 1724.
(From an Engraving by Kip in the British Museum.)

CHAPTER IV

THE CHAPEL ROYAL

THE Banqueting House, as we have seen, became the Chapel Royal after the destruction of the old chapel by fire. The change has led to a common and very natural confusion between the old Chapel Royal and the Banqueting House. Against this error we therefore presume to warn our readers at the outset. With the Banqueting House and the various phases of its existence we have already dealt ; we now turn our attention to the history of the *old* Chapel Royal within the walls of Whitehall. It was situated in the east part of the Palace, close to the stairs, and between the Banqueting House and the river. That it was a building of some importance is evident from the fact that it possessed two vestries, and still more from the description given of it in 1672, and mentioned by Walcott in his 'Memorials of Westminster.' It is described at that time as 'occupying an entire face of the Great Court, and looking towards the gate through which one enters.'

At the beginning of the present century, it is recorded, many bones were dug up in Whitehall

Yard. The belief was then prevalent that they were the remains of some murdered body. But the bones were, in fact, too numerous to admit of such a supposition being true. Nor is it difficult to imagine a less horrible explanation of their presence here. The chapel appears, by Fisher's plan, to have been very near the spot where these bones were found. It is therefore highly probable that they had been duly deposited in sacred ground, though time had long since obliterated all record of its sanctity.¹

Pepys and Evelyn frequently refer in their 'Diaries' to this Chapel Royal, and in the course of the present chapter we shall have occasion to give some interesting quotations from their pages in regard to it.

Of the distinguished ecclesiastics who preached in Whitehall, the earliest, perhaps, was Bishop Latimer, who was in the habit of preaching before Edward VI. Here, also, were to be heard, in their day, Bishop King, of Chichester; Dr. South; Dr. Stillingfleet; Bishop Andrews, the author of what is still one of the most popular books of devotion; and that 'unfair preacher,' as he was called by King Charles, Dr. Barrow, who 'left nothing to be added by man upon any text which he had handled'—a verdict which those who remember his brilliant and comprehensive summary of the various forms of wit can well understand.

¹ *Archæologia* (1834), vol. xxv. 114. Letter from S. Smirke, Esq., F.S.A., to Henry Ellis, Esq., F.R.S.

Pepys often alludes in his 'Diary' to the sermons he heard at the Chapel Royal: one preached by the Bishop of Salisbury in July, 1660, he describes as 'cold;' the ceremonies on the same occasion also displeased him, he thought them 'overdone.' In the following month he heard a good sermon by Mr. Calamy, who, however, he goes on to say, 'was very officious with his reverences to the King.' Again, under the date October 14, 1660, he speaks of an 'indifferent' sermon he heard preached by Dr. Crofts, who afterwards became Bishop of Hereford.

Pepys was very favourably impressed by the music in the Chapel Royal, and well he may have been, for among the vocalists and instrumentalists who performed in the chapel in his day were some of the greatest musicians this country has ever produced. Cook, Henry Lawes, Christopher Gibbons, Lowe, and Thomas and Henry Purcell, were among the singers, and the list of organists includes the names of Tye, Tallis, Bird, John Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Richard Farrant, Heather, Blow, Henry Purcell, Pelham, Humphrey, William Lawes, and Thomas Morley. The names of these vocalists and instrumentalists now live by their beautiful compositions, of which it is no exaggeration to say that they are even more highly prized in these days than ever they were before.

Tallis, the 'Father of English Church Music,' whose fame rests chiefly upon his harmonies to the

Plain Song Responses, was born about 1520, and became organist of the Chapel Royal in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. To John Bull, who received the appointment in 1591, the composition of the music to the National Anthem was once attributed, but erroneously. Much of his Church music compels the admiration of modern critics. A far greater name in the history of music is that of Orlando Gibbons, who was appointed organist to the chapel in 1604, and whose madrigals, not to speak of his Church music, are almost perfect examples of their form of composition. Gibbons died in Canterbury, and is buried in the Cathedral in that city. An inscription in the north aisle (surmounted by a bust) records the beauty of his playing and of his compositions, and the virtues of his character. Dr. Blow, who became the organist of the chapel in 1676, was the first to hold the additional appointment of 'Composer to the Chapel Royal,' a post which has generally, but not always, been held by one of the two chapel organists. The duty attached to the office is to compose music for the services on State occasions, when the Sovereign is pleased to give a command to that effect. Blow was an excellent writer, but perhaps his chief claim to distinction lies in the fact that he was the master of Henry Purcell, who succeeded him at the Chapel Royal. Later, Dr. Blow resigned the post of organist to Westminster Abbey in favour of his pupil. This post he lived to resume after Purcell's death. Purcell lived in a

house in Tufton Street, which has now been demolished. It was on the doorstep of that house that he contracted the chill which caused his death—Mrs. Purcell, so the tradition has it, having locked him out.

Purcell is regarded to-day as England's foremost musical composer; nor did he lack appreciation in his own time. For upon his death it was written, says Walcott, 'that he was gone to that blessed place where only his harmony could be exceeded.' He is buried in the north aisle of the Choir of Westminster Abbey. The celebration in the Abbey of the bi-centenary of his death, which was organised with such success by Sir Frederick Bridge in 1895, will be fresh in the memories of many lovers of that great musician.

Pepys was greatly delighted with the organ at the Chapel, Whitehall, which he heard on July 8, 1660: 'The first time that ever I remember to have heard the organ, and singing men in surplices, in my life.' The organ to which Pepys alludes is often, but incorrectly, stated to have been the work of Bernard Schmidt, better known as Father Schmidt. The latter, upon his arrival in England, was commissioned to build an organ at Whitehall, but it was for the Banqueting House, not the old Chapel Royal. Parts of Schmidt's instruments are still in existence, and much admired for their purity of tone, which, indeed, has never been excelled. Schmidt was in high favour with Charles II., who assigned him apartments in Whitehall Palace.

In August, 1660, Pepys heard at Whitehall 'a brave anthem of Capt. Cooke's,¹ which he himself sang, and the King was well pleased with it.' A few years later he speaks of another anthem he heard at Whitehall Chapel, the composition of Silas Taylor ; a 'dull, old-fashioned thing of six or seven parts that nobody could understand.' Upon leaving the chapel the Duke of York told Pepys that the composer 'was a better store-keeper than anthem-maker, and that was bad enough too.'

A band of twenty-four instrumentalists was introduced into the services of the Chapel Royal by Charles II., who, however, was soon forced to withdraw it on account of its unpopularity—an unpopularity which is attested by such comments as this:—

'August 29, 1662. One of his Majesty's chaplains preach'd, after which, instead of ye antient grave and solemn wind musig, accompanying ye organ, was introduc'd a concert of twenty-four violins betweene every pause after ye French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern or play-house than a Church. This was ye first time of change, and now we no more heard the cornet,

¹ Henry Cooke, choirmaster of the Chapel Royal, adhered to the Royal cause at the breaking out of the Civil Wars, and for his bravery obtained a Captain's commission. At the Restoration he received the appointment of Master of the Chapel Royal Children. He was an excellent musician, and three of his pupils turned out very distinguished musicians, viz: Pelham Humphrey, John Blow, and Michael Wise. Pepys, in another place, says, 'A vain coxcomb he is, though he sings so well.' 'Buried in the Cloisters at Westminster Abbey 1672.

w^{ch} gave life to ye organ : that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skilful.'

And Tom D'Urfey, who composed a song *à propos* of these instruments, beginning with the words

Four-and-twenty fiddlers, all in a row,

also gave voice to the popular sentiment on the subject.

To return, however, again to Pepys. He tells us that upon one occasion a certain Mr. Hill took him up, in the King's absence, to the Royal Closet in the Chapel—namely, a gallery which looked into and down the Chapel, and which contained a throne for the King and Queen—where Pepys and his companion remained during the entire service, 'which,' says Pepys, 'I did think a great honour.' Through the hangings that part the King's Closet and the place where the ladies sit, the Duke of York and Mrs. Palmer 'did talk to one another very wantonly,' writes Pepys, upon another occasion, in the year 1660.

In Evelyn's 'Diary' there are also many interesting references to the Chapel Royal. Here, for example, is an extract :—

'April 23, 1667. In the morning his Majesty went to Chapel with the Knights of the Garter, all in their habits and robes, ushered by the heralds. After the service they went in procession, the youngest first, the Sovereign last, with the Prelate of

the Order and Dean, who had about his neck the Book of the Statutes of the Order: and then the Chancellor of the Order (old Sir Henry de Vic) who wore the Purse about his neck: then the Heralds and Garter King-at-Arms—Clarencieux—Black Rod. But before the Prelate and Dean of Windsor went the Gentlemen of the Chapel, and Choristers, singing as they marched: behind them two doctors of music in damask robes: this procession was about the Courts at Whitehall. Then returning to their stalls and seats in the Chapel, placed under each Knight's coat, armour and titles, the second service began. Then the King offered at the Altar, an anthem was sung, and then the rest of the Knights offered.'

King James II.'s religious tendencies soon manifested themselves. Within a month of his accession there was set up 'a new pulpit in' what Evelyn, under the date March 5th, 1685, calls 'the Popish Oratorie for the Lent preaching: Mass being said publicly, and the Romanists swarming at Court with greater confidence than had ever been seen in England since the Reformation.' All of which was the occasion of much distress and sorrow to Evelyn.

Another record of the King's behaviour here is to be found in an old book kept in the Registrar-General's Office at Somerset House, and entitled 'Chapels Royal Register—Births, Deaths, and Marriages.'

‘On Sunday, Ffeb^r 15, 1684,’ we are told, ‘King James the 2nd was openly seen at Masse wth hys Queen, in a little Chappell Closet, next the water side in his lodgings at Whitehall at the end of the Long Gallery.’

Walcott seems to imply that James II. rebuilt the Chapel for his Roman Catholic Services after he ascended the throne ; but from passages in Evelyn’s ‘Diary’ one gathers that these services were held in a ‘second chapel.’ For example, under the date January 30, 1687, he writes as follows : ‘I heard the famous Cifaccio sing in the new Popish Chapell this afternoone : it was indeede very rare and with greate skill. He came over from Rome, esteemed one of the best voices in Italy. Much crowding, little devotion.’

Lofie says that in this chapel theré were ‘four statues of St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, and Holy Mother Church, the work of Gibbons, executed in white marble, with rich carving, and pillars stood round an altar piece representing the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin. The volta-in-fresco was the Assumption, and a world of figures painted by Antonio Verris, a Neapolitan.’ Evelyn thus describes these statues and architectural features :—

‘December 29, 1686. I went to heare the musig of the Italians in the New Chapel, now first open’d publickly at Whitehall for the Popish service. Nothing can be finer than the magnificent marble work and architecture at the end, where are four

statues representing St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Church, in white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, with all the carving and pillars of exquisite art, and greate coste,' etc., etc., etc.

For this chapel, Inigo Jones designed a fine reredos of vari-coloured marbles, which, happily, escaped destruction when the Palace was burnt in 1698, and which was given by Queen Anne to Westminster Abbey in the year 1706. There is a view of it in Dart's 'Westminster Abbey.'

In the 'Diary' of Thomas Burton, Esq., M.P., published in the year 1657, there is a curious account of an attempt to burn down this chapel. The account is worth quoting in full :—

January 8, 1656–57. Mr. Disbrowe told Mr. West and me, that this night about eleven or twelve, the plot for the firing of Whitehall was discovered by the smell of a match by an officer of the Guard. He heard two of the Plotters examined by his Highness. He said it was thus : They had cut a hole in a back door, entering into the Chapel, the next seat to Lord Lambert's, and there pulled back the spring lock, and in the seat set a basket of wild-fire, made up of all combustibles, as tar, pitch, tow, gunpowder, etc., and in little pieces, and hung a lighted match about half a yard long out of the basket, which by their computation would have burnt up to the basket within halfe an hour. With this they would have set the Chapel on fire, and haply a great part of the house, for—as one of the plotters confessed—it was such wild stuff it would have burnt through stone walls.

In this flame some great villany was to be acted upon his Highness's person, that the offenders might better

escape in the smoke, as will appear by the sequel when it comes to be further discovered.

The Council were sent for after they were risen : and it was at once purposed to have set some seats on fire, and doubled the Guard, and so watched the consequence ; but this was thought to raise too great a tumult, and call down the City, and make the people believe it was only a purposed plot to try men's spirits.

Next morning two of the offenders were discovered. One confessed something. The other was a stout sturdy fellow. He had been a soldier all along in the Parliament army, and Quarter-Master to Sir John Reynolds. He was loth to be taken, so had his nose cut off almost, by three of the Guard, who went to apprehend him. He told them he wanted his weapon, else he would not have been taken upon such slender terms.

His Highness asked him if he were not in the Chapel that night, about five and six. He answered no. But his Highness said he should prove it by two or three witnesses, who saw him there at that time,' etc. etc. etc.

With regard to the officers who were connected from time to time with the Chapel Royal at Whitehall in the reign of William and Mary, we learn something from an old book published in the year 1690 :—

The Dean of the King's Chapel is usually some grave and learned Prelate, chosen by the King, who only is his superior, his Chapel being exempt from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, being called 'Capella Dominica,' in no diocese, but is a Regal Peculiar ; exempt and reserved to the visitation and immediate Government of the King, who is Supreme Ordinary, and as it were Prime Bishop over all the Churches and Bishops of England. By the Dean are chosen all the other officers of the Chapel, viz. a Sub-Dean or Precentor Capellæ ; thirty-two Gentlemen of the

Chapel, where twelve are Priests; the other twenty, commonly called Clerks of the Chappell, are to perform, with the said Priests, the office of praying, singing, etc. One of these, being well skilled in music, is chosen Master of the Children—whereof are twelve, in ordinary—to instruct them in the Rules and Arts of Musick, for the Service of the Chappel; three others are chosen to be organists, to whom is joined, upon solemn Days, a 'Consort' of the King's Musick, to make the musick more full and compleat. There are four officers called Vergers, because they carry silver rods in their hands, viz. a Sergeant, two Yeomen, and a Groom of the Chappel.

Common prayers are read there three times a day. The King has his Private Oratory, where some of his Chaplains in ordinary perform the Office, every day of the week.

Upon twelve high and principal festival days in the year the King (after the Service is over) attended with the principal nobility, offers a sum of Gold to God, in signum specialis Domini, that by His Grace he is King, and holds all of Him, which belongs to the Dean to be distributed amongst the poor. This gold offered is called the 'Bizantine,' which anciently was a piece of gold, coyned by the Emperours of Constantinople in Latin, Bizantine. That which was used by King James I. was a piece of gold, having on the one side the Pourtrait of the King kneeling before an Altar, with four crowns before him, and this motto circumscribed: 'Quid retribuam Domino, pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi?' On the other side was a lamb lying by a lion, with this motto, viz. 'Cor contritum et humiliatum non despiciet Deus.'

The King hath (besides his Extraordinary, which are many) forty-eight Chaplains in Ordinary, who are eminent Doctors in Divinity, whereof four every month wait at Court to preach. The Lord High Almoner is usually the Bishop of London, who disposes of the King's Alms, and for that use receiveth (besides other Monies allowed by

the King) all Deodands and bona Felonum de se, to be that way disposed. Under the High Almoner there is a Sub-Almoner, two Yeomen, and two Grooms of the Almonry. Then there is the Clerk of the Closet, usually some Reverend Divine, much esteemed by his Majesty, who attends at the King's right hand in Service time to resolve doubts about spiritual matters, to wait upon his Majesty in his Private Oratory or Closet. The Dean of the Chappel's fee is £200 yearly, and the Sub-Dean's £100. The Clerk of the Closet's fee is 20 nobles per ann.

The Lord Almoner hath the privilege to give the King's dish to whatsoever poor man he pleases; *i.e.* the first dish at dinner which is set upon the King's table; or, instead thereof, four pence a day (which anciently was equivalent to four shillings now). Next he distributes to twenty-four poor men, named by the Parishioners of the Parish adjacent to the King's place of residence, to each of them four pence in money, a two-penny loaf, and a gallon of beer; or, instead thereof, three pence in money, equally to be divided among them, every morning at seven of the clock at the Court Gate.

The Sub-Almoner is to scatter new coined two-pences in the towns and places where the King passes through in his progresses, to a certain sum by the year.

Besides, there are distributed among the poor, the large offerings which the King gives on Collar Days.¹

Finally, by 'that dismal fire' on January 2, 1698, the Chapel Royal was destroyed. Thereafter, as we have already stated,² Divine Service was held, at any rate occasionally, in the Banqueting House; and upon the accession of the House of Hanover, in 1724, that building was formally converted into a Chapel Royal.

¹ *Angliæ Metropolis, or the Present State of London, with Memorials.* Thomas Delaune (1690), p. 93.

² Ch. III.

CHAPTER V

THE COCK-PIT

COCK-FIGHTING was, for a very long time, a most popular form of sport in this country. It can be traced back as far as the reign of Henry II. ; it lasted as a legal amusement until the days of the Regency, and in practice much later. It is not, in fact, unknown at the present time. In the old days even the pedantic James I. had a fondness for it, and 'constantly amused himself with it twice a week,'¹ to quote the words of Monsieur de la Boderie, the French Ambassador at the time.

'Cocks of the game are yet cherished by divers men for their pleasure, much money being laid on their heads, when they fight in pits, whereof some be costly made for that purpose.'²

Henry VIII. took great pleasure in cock-fighting, and 'out of certain old tenements,' as Stow tells us, he built the Cock-pit at Whitehall Palace, the first pit, according to a writer in 'Notes and Queries,' of which there is any record. Its exact position, which was for a time a matter of doubt, can be

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi.

² Stow, p. 361.

ascertained by a reference to Newcourt's map, engraved in 1658, or to Fisher's plan, as well as sundry other documents. The site is now occupied by the Privy Council Office.

It is not always an easy matter to determine what was the Cock-pit at certain periods in the history of Whitehall, nor can we be sure whether the building that went under that name was the structure which Henry VIII. erected for the sport of cock-fighting or another structure built upon the same site. We know that the term was applied to a suite of apartments in the vicinity of the Palace proper, and we shall presently give a list, together with some particulars, of the distinguished persons who occupied these rooms. Pepys in his 'Diary' tells us that Lord Dorset and another Lord talked 'of getting another place at the Cock-pit,' and in a number of the 'London Gazette,' issued in 1670, we read, 'Dyed at his apartment in the Cock-pit, his Grace George, Duke of Albemarle.' Brand was evidently familiar with the term, as applied to some building in Whitehall, but he does not state to what purpose it was devoted.

There is contemporary evidence that the building was in existence long after the year 1691, and there can be little doubt that it was used as the meeting-place of the Privy Council. Indeed, some minutes of the Privy Council, which deal with the duel between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun, and are to be found in the report on Lord Dart-

mouth's Family Papers by the Historical MSS. Commission, are dated at the Cock-pit, November 18, 1712, and the term is also to be found at the heading of a letter from J. Craggs in the same collection. Likewise, some letters of Horatio Walpole were written at the Cock-pit as late as 1748 and 1752.

We have it on the authority of 'Notes and Queries' that 'Professors Fleming and Tibbins, in their 'Royal Dictionary: English and French,' explain the word thus:—'Cock-pit, the Privy Council room at Westminster: so called because built on the Cock-pit of Whitehall Palace.' And from the same fecund source of curious information we learn that 'Vandyke painted the Cock-pit as it existed in the reign of Charles I. The picture represents two cocks fighting. A large assemblage of courtiers are watching the match.'

Timbs, in his 'Romance of London,' says that 'the Whitehall Cock-pit, after the fire in 1697, was altered into the Privy Council Office.' From this statement it would seem that they were one and the same building. 'The Cock-pit,' Timbs adds, 'retained its original name long after the change in its uses.'

So true is this that, even down to the year 1760, the Treasury was called the Cock-pit, though many of the old offices had been pulled down in 1733 in order to make room for the present three-storied building by Kent; and the Treasury letters and minutes were headed 'Cock-pit' until quite late in

the century before last ; and Lambert says that the Council Chamber was called the Cock-pit, where ' His Majesty's intended speech was read to the members of both Houses on the evening previous to the opening of Parliament ;'¹ and where, moreover, the Lord High Treasurer sat to receive petitions, give orders, and issue warrants.

In the latter days of Charles I., Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, occupied the Cock-pit apartments of Whitehall, from one of the windows of which he watched his Sovereign walk through the park to his execution. Five years later Oliver Cromwell took possession of the rooms. Thence he sent the letter to his wife after the battle of Dunbar, and there subsequently Mrs. Cromwell resided with him. In the chapter devoted to the Protector an account is given of his quitting these apartments on the day of his installation, of his final removal from them to the actual Palace, and of the splendour and pomp with which he surrounded himself at Whitehall.

General George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, was the next tenant of the Cock-pit, the apartments being assigned to him by Parliament shortly before the Restoration of Charles II. ; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, also resided there in 1673. Another distinguished occupant of the Cock-pit in Charles's reign was the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne, who was still living there at the time of the

¹ *History and Survey of London.* B. Lambert, 1806.

Revolution. It was from these rooms, therefore, that, on the approach of the Prince of Orange, on November 26, 1688, she fled down the back-stairs at midnight, in nightgown and slippers, with Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, as her companion, and drove away in a coach, on either side of which Lord Dorset and Bishop Compton rode as escort. Subsequently she returned to the Cock-pit, but again was forced to quit it. 'She was carried in a sedan to Sion,' says Lord Dartmouth, 'being then with child, without any guard or decent attendance, where she miscarried, and all people forbid waiting, which was complied with by everybody except the Duke of Somerset, whose house she was in, and Lord Rochester.'

Under the dates October 30, 1660, and November 17, 1662, Pepys in his 'Diary' records visits which he paid to the Cock-pit. Upon the former occasion he witnessed a play entitled 'The Tamer Tamed,' and upon the second he was present at the performance of the 'Scornful Lady,'¹ and saw the King, the Queen, the Duke of Monmouth, Lady Castlemaine, and 'all the fine ladies.'

In the reign of Queen Anne the offices of Godolphin and Harley, Earl of Oxford, were situated in the Cock-pit, and it was at a meeting of the Privy Council, on March 8, 1711, that the French Abbé Guiscard made his unsuccessful attempt to

¹ This comedy was by Beaumont and Fletcher, and was published in 1616.

assassinate Harley by stabbing him in the heart with a penknife. Guiscard himself was nearly killed by the swords of Lord Paulet and Mr. St. John, his death eventually taking place in Newgate.

And it was at the Cock-pit that Bishop Atterbury underwent an examination before the Privy Council, previous to his committal to the Tower.

CHAPTER VI

THE TILT-YARD

THE Tilt-yard, the scene of the military amusements of Henry VIII., was a place for noblemen and others 'to exercise themselves in justing, turning, and fighting at barriers.'¹ It fronted the Banqueting House in Whitehall, adjoined the Horse Guards, and occupied what is now called the Horse Guards Parade. In the year 1711, it is described in the 'Spectator' (No. 100) as a 'common street before Whitehall;' and Lambert, in his book, written in the year 1806, says that 'the site of this place is now occupied by a convenient guard-room and other offices for the use of the foot guards.'²

We learn from Jesse that Henry VIII. witnessed the jousts and tournaments in the Tilt-yard from the splendid gallery which overlooked it, and which he had built. It was from this gallery also that Henry received 15,000 armed citizens upon the occasion of the threatened invasion of England by the Roman Catholic Potentates; it was here also that his

¹ Stow, p. 168.

² *History and Survey of London*. B. Lambert, 1806.

daughter, Queen Elizabeth, received the deputation from Parliament which came respectfully 'to move her Grace to marriage,' and it was hence that she proceeded to meet her first Parliament in 1559-60.

The Tilt-yard retained its use as a place for tournaments, pageants, and feats during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whose fondness for such diversions equalled that of her father. A society of knights, consisting of twenty-five of the most distinguished persons of the court, held annual exercises of arms in her reign, and in Sydney's 'State Papers' we have an interesting account of Queen Elizabeth's amusements in the sixty-seventh year of her age, which shows that the Tilt-yard was used for other purposes besides tournaments :—

'Her Majesty says she is very well. This daye she appoints a frenchman to doe feates upon a rope in the Conduit Court. To-morrow she hath commanded the bear, the bull, and the ape to be bayted in the Tilt-yard.'¹

In the year 1581 a magnificent tournament was held in the Tilt-yard in honour of the Commissioners who had been sent by the King of France to propose a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, son of Catherine de Medicis. The Queen was forty-eight years of age at the time, but from the flattering speeches addressed to her, and her reception of them, she might have been a girl of eighteen. The gallery at the end of the Tilt-yard

¹ Vol. i. 194.

where the Queen was seated 'was called,' says Holinshed, 'and not without cause, the Castelle or Fortresse of perfect Beautie, for as much as her Highness should be there included.' After a summons had been sent to the possessor of the Castelle, Desire and his four foster children assailed the fortresse. 'Wooden guns (cannon) charged with sweet powder and sweet waters "verie odoriferous and pleasant" were then "shot off" against the fortress of Beauty from a "rowling trench or mound of earth" that was wheeled up to the walls, and an attack was made with "pretie scaling ladders," and "flowers, and such fancies and devices," were thrown in, "as might seem fit shot for Desire."'

'Whilst the Challengers, viz. the Earle of Arundel, the Lord Windsore, Maister Philip Sidneie, and Maister Fulke Grevill,' were thus engaged, each at the head of his band of partisans, in very sumptuous apparel, the Defenders of Beauty entered the Tilt-yard and a regular 'Tourneie' and 'Justing' took place, in the course of which the renowned Sir Harry Lee, K.G., the Queen's devoted knight, brake 'his six staves,' and many others 'justed right valiantly,' until the approach of night separated the combatants.

'On the following day the four foster children of Desire entered "in a brown chariot (verie finelie and curiouslie decked) as men sore wearied and halfe overcome," whilst "verie doleful musicke" was played by a concealed band within the chariot, in

which also Desire herself, represented by a "beautiful ladie," sat "up on the top" in company with the knights. On approaching the Queen an "herald at arms" expressed the challengers' despair of victory, "yet as their soules should leave their bodies rather than Desire should leave their soules," they besought her Highness "to vouchsafe the eies of Her peerless beauty upon their death or overthrow."

This 'amorous foolery,' as Pennant has justly styled it, was ended by the Maiden Queen giving to all her knights 'praise and great thanks.'

'And thus ceased,' says Holinshed, 'these courtlie triumphs, set forth with the most costlie braverie and gallantness.'

CHAPTER VII

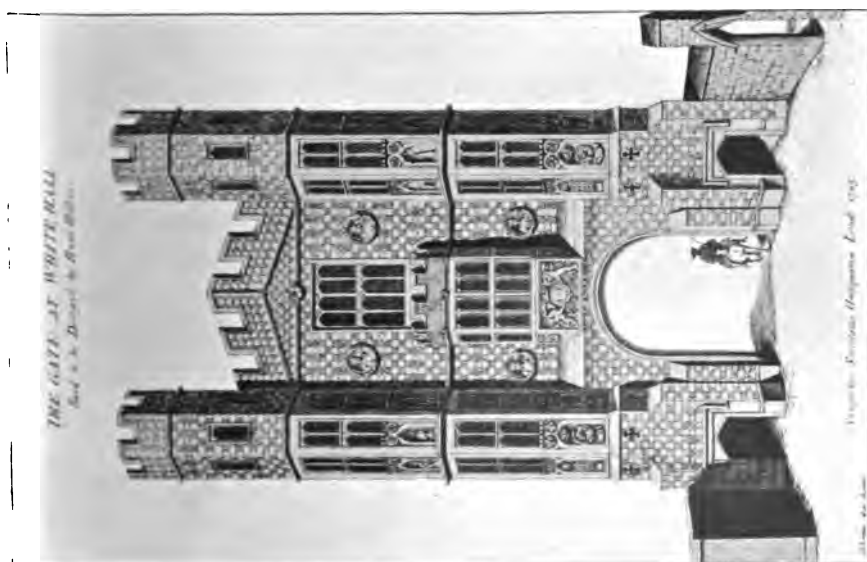
THE GATEWAYS OF WHITEHALL PALACE

The Holbein Gateway, which is generally supposed to have been situated near to Charing Cross, was also called 'Whitehall Gate' and the 'Cock-pit Gate.' It was one of Henry the Eighth's additions to Whitehall, and it connected the Tennis Court, the Cock-pit, and the Bowling-green with the Palace, besides providing the King with a gallery into the park, whence he could witness the sports which took place there on special occasions. It was designed by Hans Holbein, who had entered the service of the King, and been assigned a suite of apartments in the precincts of the Palace, together with an annual salary of 200 florins.

This celebrated gate, which 'stood on a line with the south end of the Banqueting House,'¹ was built of stone mixed with small squares of flint,² and tessellated; and it was 'very neatly set.' J. T. Smith, in his 'Antiquities of Westminster,' describes this Gateway (from the 'New View of London,'

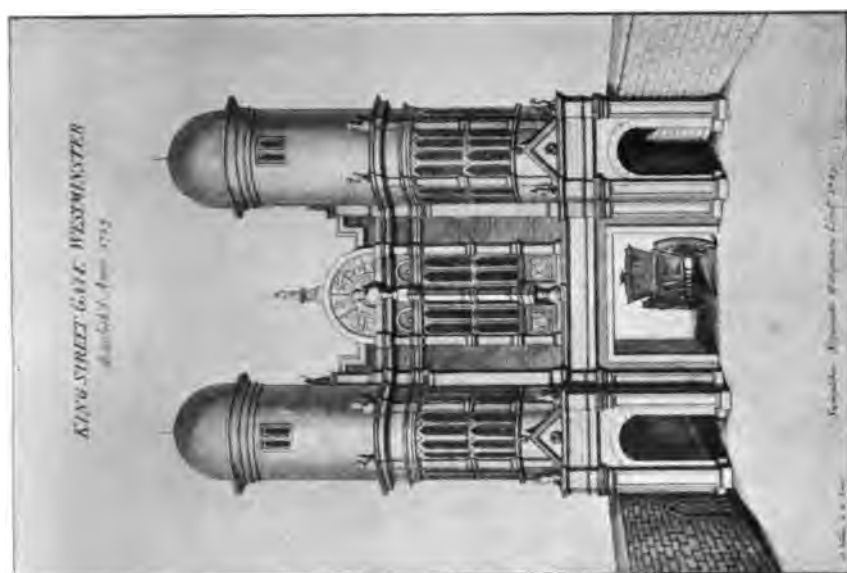
¹ Walcott.

² This kind of flint-work came much into use in the reign of Henry VIII.



THE 'HOLBEIN' GATE.

(From a Print in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)



THE KING STREET GATE.

(From a Print in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)

printed in 1708) as being in the Tudor style of architecture, with battlements and four lofty towers, the whole enriched with *bustos* on the north and south sides. At that time there were no gates hung; but the hinges were visible, and showed that gates had formerly been there.

In the 'Vetusta Monumenta,' published by the Society of Antiquaries, there is an engraving of this building by Vertue.

Pennant, who had seen the gate, and whose testimony regarding it is therefore worth giving, writes as follows :—

To Holbein was owing the most beautiful gate at Whitehall, built with bricks of two colours, glazed and disposed in a tessilated fashion. The top, as well as that of an elegant tower on each, were embattled. On each front were four busts, in baked clay, which resisted to the last every attack of the weather.

Strype says that at one time, and for a considerable period, the 'uppermost room in Holbein's Gateway was used as the State Paper Office.'¹ The structure, which had outlived all the adjoining buildings except the Banqueting House (the latter of course including the stairs and the gallery by which King Charles entered the Palace on the day of his execution), was then pulled down, in 1759, in order to widen the street, viz. Parliament Street, and the busts and medallions were dispersed.

Smith, to whom we have already alluded, gives

¹ Strype, Book VI. p. 5.

some interesting details concerning the subsequent career of this gate and its figures. He had gathered his information from a relative of one of the workmen employed, who, curiously enough, was the only person able to give it.

On the taking down the Gate (in 1759), it was begged and obtained by William, Duke of Cumberland (son of George II. and the 'hero of Culloden'), then Ranger of Windsor Park and Forest, with the intention to erect it at the end of the Long Walk. For this purpose Thomas Sandby, an Architect and Deputy-Ranger, was employed to design—as he did—wings to it, and from his original drawing, now in the possession of Mr. John Manson, Bookseller, an interesting and curious view or plate has been obtained. The stones of the Gate were accordingly removed, but the intention of erecting it at the end of the Long Walk not taking effect, they were, many of them, by the Duke's direction, worked up by Mr. Slingsby (Stone Mason to the King) in several different buildings erected by the Duke in the Great Park there.¹ A medallion from it is in one of the fronts of a keeper's lodge, near the head of Virginia Water, near World's End Gate, as it is corruptly called, instead of the W.E. Gate. On each front of this Gate were four busts in baked clay. Intelligence was obtained that after the Gate was taken down, three of the busts were in the possession of a man who kept an old iron shop in Belton Street, St. Giles's, and that the busts were supposed to have been stolen when the gate was taken down, and were afterwards sold to this man, who had them three or four years. Mr. Wright, Coachbuilder, who then lived in Long Acre, seeing them in a shop, bought them, and employed Mr. Flaxman, Sculptor, then a boy, to repair them. They were in terra-

¹ Some writers inform us that the brick and stone work is supposed to form the mound at the end of the Long Walk.

cotta and coloured and gilt. The dress of one of the busts was painted dark red, and the ornaments gilt, among which were alternately the Rose and H., and the Crown and R., in gold. Flaxman repaired them for Wright, the purchaser, in 1769.

On mentioning these particulars to H. Hoare, Esq., I gather that Wright had lived in a house called Hatfield Priory, at Hatfield Peverill, in Essex, and suggested that these busts might still be in the possession of his descendants who still lived there. On writing to a friend, the Reverend F. Gower, in that neighbourhood, it was learnt that they were actually there. By this friend's means permission was obtained to see and copy them.

In 1803, Mr. Smith journeyed to Hatfield Peverill, with a view to copying them, for at that time they were in the possession of a Mr. Wright, a descendant of the Mr. Wright to whom reference has been made. The clergyman of the parish, Mr. Bennett, had often been told by the purchaser that these busts, which were of terra-cotta, and larger than life, were representations of Henry VII., of Henry VIII. when only sixteen years of age, and of Bishop Fisher of Rochester. Nevertheless, Mr. Loftie, in his book, speaks of them as the 'heads of the Cæsars.' They were of Italian workmanship,¹ and were attributed by some people to Torrigiano, who erected the monument of King Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey, and by others to John de Maiano.

Another of the busts that adorned this old gateway found its way to one of the keepers' lodges

¹ Ellis's *Letters*, 3rd Series i. 249.

in Windsor Park, in front of which it was placed ; and a second, similar in size and shape, was said, as has been stated, to have been placed at the front of another lodge at the head of Virginia Water. 'These,' wrote Mr. Cunningham in 1850, 'are now, by Mr. Jesse's exertions, at Hampton Court, where they are made to do duty as two of the Roman Emperors described by Hentzner in his "Travels."'

The King's Gate.—This gate, which was in the Gothic style of architecture, and built of stone, was erected at the same time as the Holbein Gate, to which it was far inferior in beauty. It was situated at the north end of King Street, which originally ran from Charing Cross and Whitehall to the King's Palace at Westminster. A full description of the structure is given in the 'New View of London,' a book printed in the year 1708, at which time there existed remains of several figures and ornaments, such as the Queen's arms and roses, with which, after the fashion of the Holbein Gate, each front was enriched. The structure had, moreover, four towers in the Tudor style, and the south side was adorned 'with pilasters and entablature of the Ionic order.'¹ There were also 'busts made in biscuit ware, of white clay, glazed like potter's ware.'²

This gate was removed in the year 1723, and no record as to what became of it seems to exist.

¹ Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*.

² Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*.

By means of the Holbein Gate and the King's Gate and walls 'the street was confined to the breadth of King Street,' says Mr. J. T. Smith, 'which most probably was the width of the way in the time of Hubert de Burgh, Henry VIII. having in this instance apparently done nothing more than erected two gateways over a street already formed, for the purpose of uniting his new buildings on the west with those existing before on the east side of the way.'

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRIVY AND SPRING GARDENS

THE Privy Garden of the time of Charles II. covered an area of three and a quarter acres, and was situated in the rear of the Banqueting House, upon a site now occupied by Whitehall Gardens, a row of five houses which faces the river, the gardens of which run down to the Embankment. Hatton describes the Privy Garden roughly as 'lying between the Cock-pit and the Thames.'

It 'was laid out into sixteen square compartments of grass, each compartment having a standing statue in the centre. The garden was concealed from the street by a lofty wall; from the river by the Stone Gallery and State apartments; from the Court behind the Banqueting House by the lodgings of the chief attendants on the King; and from the Bowling Green to which it led, by a row of lofty trees. It would appear to have been in every respect a private garden.'¹

Under the date May 21, 1662, Pepys states that he saw in the Privy garden 'the finest smocks and linen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's.' It did him good, he adds, to look upon them.

¹ *London, Past and Present* (Wheatley and Cunningham), iii. 124.



THE PRIVY GARDEN IN 1741.
 (From an Engraving by J. Mauer in the British Museum.)

The wall enclosing the Privy Garden was used for the exhibition of the old ballad seller's wares, and in the 'European Magazine,' 1796, one Joseph Moser is recorded to have seen Mr. Burke examining these ballads with the greatest interest.

The present Whitehall Gardens lie partly in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and partly in that of St. Margaret's, Westminster. In the central house, which is larger than either of its neighbours, there lived for some time the great Sir Robert Peel. With reference to this house a significant reminiscence of the stirring events in which his father took so large a part was put on record by the third Baronet. In an action in the Court of Exchequer, in February, 1870, which he brought to recover 5,355*l*. from the Metropolitan Board of Works for damage and deterioration, caused by the construction of the Thames Embankment, 'Sir Robert stated that the house was built in 1824, that there were steps leading to the river, and he remembered that on one occasion, when a boy, preparations were made to remove the family and valuables by boats on the occasion of a threatened attack by a riotous mob on his father's house.' ¹

THE SPRING GARDEN

This well-known garden, which was situated at the east end of the Mall, between St. James's Park

¹ *London, Past and Present* (Wheatley and Cunningham), iii. 124.

and Charing Cross, was laid out in the time of James I. It is named after a spring of water which once existed on the spot, and of which Hentzner, in his 'Travels' (1598), speaks as follows :—

In a Garden joining to this Palace (Whitehall), there is a jet d'eau with a sun-dial, at which, while strangers are looking, a quantity of water, forced by a wheel, which the gardener turns at a distance through a number of little pipes, plentifully sprinkles those that are standing round.

Examples of such fountains are not uncommon. They are to be found at Chatsworth and elsewhere, and they represent the cruder form of seventeenth-century humour. The mechanism usually consisted of a concealed trap, which, when trodden on by the spectator unawares, started a spring from the ground, or a shower of water from an imitation tree.

Charles I. added to the garden a pheasant yard, a bowling green, and other accessories, which after a while became a source of much trouble, as is apparent in the following extract from the 'Strafford Papers' :—

The bowling green in the Spring Garden was put down one day by the King's command, but, by the intercession of the Queen, it was reprieved for the year (1634), but hereafter it shall be no common bowling place. There was kept in it an ordinary of six shillings a meal (when the King's proclamation allows but two elsewhere), continual bibbing and drinking wine all day under the trees; two or three quarrels every week. It was grown scandalous and insufferable; besides, my Lord Digby being reprehended for striking in the King's Garden, he said he took it for a common bowling place, where all paid money for their coming in.¹

¹ *Strafford Papers*, 1634, i. 262 (Garrard to Lord Strafford).

An amusing incident occurred in this garden early in the reign of Charles I. The King accompanied by his favourite, Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was looking on at a game of bowls that was being played there, and 'of all the company the haughty Buckingham was the only person who retained his hat on his head in the presence of his sovereign.' This was observed by a certain Scotchman who was present, and who, having first kissed the Duke's hand, suddenly snatched off his hat, exclaiming, 'Off with your hat before the King!' Buckingham, we are told, instantly gave the Scotchman a kick, and in his wrath would probably have gone to further lengths; but his Majesty interposed, saying, 'Let him alone, George; he is either mad or a fool.' 'No, sir,' said the offender, 'I am a sober man, and if your Majesty would give me leave I would tell you that of this man, which many know, and none dare speak.'¹

When the bowling green was closed, in 1634, its place as a public resort was taken by Shaver's Hall, which was opened, south of Coventry Street, by the barber-servant of Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who, on January 1, 1626, had been appointed keeper for life of 'Spring Gardens and the beasts and fowls there.'²

The gardens, however, did not long remain closed. The restrictions under which they were placed were soon abated or ignored, for, in the year

¹ D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*.

² *The Builder*.

1649, towards the end of the reign of Charles I., Evelyn writes that he had been 'treating divers ladies of his relations there.'

Charles, it will be remembered, when on his way to the scaffold, pointed out to Bishop Juxon and Herbert a tree in the Spring Garden as having been planted by his brother Prince Henry. After the execution of the King, and during the Protectorate of Cromwell, the garden was closed to the public ; apropos of which Evelyn writes :—

10 *May*, 1654.—My Lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry Gardens, now ye only place of refreshment about the towne for persons of the best quality to be exceedingly cheated at ; Cromwell and his partisans having shut up and seized on Spring Garden, wch., till now, had been ye usual rendezvous for the ladys and gallants at this season.

When Charles II. came to the throne, Spring Garden was called 'Old Spring Gardens.' It was encroached upon for building purposes soon after the Restoration, and, as we learn from the writer in 'The Builder,' whom we have cited above, the retaining wall at the end of New Street and along the terrace was a piece, about 225 feet long, of the old park wall. The ground, when built upon, was, according to the rate book of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, divided into 'Inner Spring Garden' and 'Outer Spring Garden.'

Among the eminent persons who inhabited these quarters in olden days were Sir Philip Warwick,

the author, who lived in the Outer Spring Garden in the year 1661 ; Sir William Morris (1662) ; Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, who has been called the ' Lord Chesterfield of De Grammont's Memoirs ' (from 1667 till 1670) ; Lord Crofts ; Sir Edward Hungerford, and Prince Rupert, the third son of Frederick, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I., who died there on November 29, 1682. In the year 1711 Colley Cibber resided here ; and here, in the year 1723, Mrs. Centlivre, the dramatist, died. And among other inhabitants of the place were George Canning (in the year 1800), and Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick, a sister of George III., who died in England, March 23, 1813.¹

At the park end of the Spring Garden, on a plot of ground a grant of which had been secured by Lord Berkeley, was situated the office of the Metropolitan Board of Works, a modern building, erected, in the year 1860, from the designs of Mr. Frederick Marrable, the architect to the Board ; and this building covered also the site of Wigley's Auction Rooms, afterwards Cox's Museum, burnt in 1785. In the ' Great Room ' at Wigley's the Society of Artists of Great Britain, incorporated in 1765, held their exhibitions in 1761, 1771, and 1780 ; and that is believed to be the ' Great Concert Room, Spring Gardens,' where Leopold Mozart's two children

¹ Princess Augusta married Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, on January 17, 1764.

gave their first concert on June 5, 1764.¹ The building, which is still given up to offices, is now in the occupation of the London County Council.

At the corner of New Street, in the Spring Garden, stands St. Matthew's Chapel, a building more curious than beautiful in architectural character. A chapel of French Huguenots is said to have stood on this site in the reign of William III. It was destroyed by fire in 1726, and a contemporary poem mentions the fact that Prince George of Wales, afterwards George II., assisted to extinguish this fire. The chapel was rebuilt and used as a chapel of ease to St. Martin's Chapel. Again rebuilt or enlarged by an ancestor of Lord Clifford, it was now called St. Matthew's Chapel ; but whether it was then, or ever has been, consecrated is a moot point. The vaults are used as a wine merchant's depôt, and to this use they have probably been devoted from the first, as was the case with many chapels in London.²

The chapel itself now belongs to the Admiralty, and with the enlargement of the new buildings of that department will doubtless disappear. A hundred years ago, however—in the year 1792, to be exact—it was the cause of a dispute between Lord Clifford and the Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, who, it seems, claimed the chapel as in his patronage, and therefore claimed the right to present.

¹ *The Builder*.

² See *Daily Graphic*, October 3, 1900.

The chapel is now used as a place in which to store Admiralty Records.

At the corner of the Spring Garden at Charing Cross, upon the site now occupied by Drummond's Bank, there stood at one time a celebrated inn called the 'Bull Head' tavern. It was at 'one Thomson's, next door to the Bull Head tavern at Charing Cross, opening into Spring Garden,'¹ that Milton lodged, though when he was Cromwell's Latin Secretary he resided in Scotland Yard.

The new Government offices will, when completed, occupy the whole of New Street, and thus the last vestiges of the famous Spring Garden will soon have disappeared.

¹ Phillips's *Life of Milton*, 1694, p. 33.

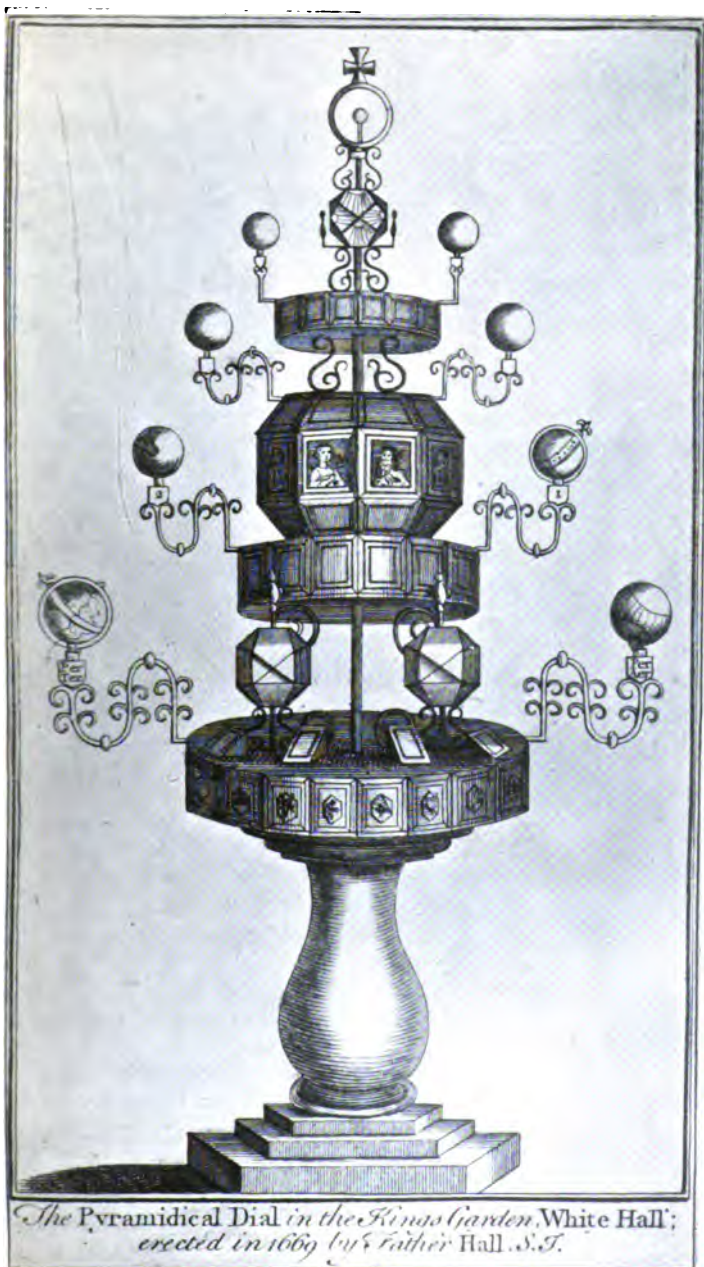
CHAPTER IX

SUN-DIALS AND STATUE OF JAMES II. AT WHITE-
HALL PALACE

SUN-DIALS AT WHITEHALL PALACE

THERE seem to have been two or three sets of sundials within the walls of Whitehall Palace. The chief one, famous in its day, was erected in the central walk of the Privy Gardens, by the orders of James I. for his son Charles, then Prince of Wales. It was the work of one Edmund Gunter, Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, who, in the year 1624, published a 'Description' of his handiwork by the King's command.

'These dials,' he writes, 'were placed on a stone which, at the base, was a square of somewhat more than four feet and a half, the height three feet and three-quarters, and unwrought, contained above eighty feet, or five tonne of stone. Five dials were described on the upper part, viz. : one on each of the four corners, and a fifth in the middle, which was the chief of all, the great horizontal concave. Besides the dials at the tops, there were others on each of the sides, east, west, north, and south.'



*The Pyramidical Dial in the Kings Garden, White Hall;
erected in 1669 by Christopher Wren.*

SUNDIAL AT WHITEHALL.

(From an Engraving in the British Museum.)

The masonry above mentioned was 'wrought' by Nicholas Stone, probably the Master Mason of the King, to whom we have already referred.¹ He was paid 46*l.* for his work, we are informed. In the reign of Charles II. this dial was defaced 'by the drunken frolics of a nobleman.' This incident called forth the following lines from Andrew Marvell's satiric pen :—

This place for a dial was too insecure,
 Since a guard and a garden could not it defend ;
 For so near to the Court they will never endure
 Any witness to show how their time they mis-spend.

But, in spite of satire and defacement, the dial seems to have remained where it was till the reign of George II.

In addition to the above, a curious set of dials was erected in the year 1669, in the reign of Charles II., by a Jesuit priest, named either Father Hall or Father Lyne. These dials were 'constructed of glass in six weeks, disposed pyramidically one above another.'² In the year 1673, a man named Guillaume Henry Steel printed at Liège 'an explication of the dyall sett up in the King's Garden at London anno 1669 ; in which very many sorts of dyalls are contained, &c.' Walcott says that the dial was a 'tribute of loyalty and gratitude from an old faithful domestic, Tobias Rustat, Keeper of Hampton Court and Yeoman of the Robes.' In the explication printed

¹ Ch. III. p. 39.

² Gough.

at Liège, we are told that 'many things belonging to Geography, Astrology, and Astronomy are, by the sunne's shadow, made visible to the eye, besides the houres of all kinds, diversely expressed on these dials.'¹

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a certain mathematician, who lived in Cannon Row, William Allingham by name, offered to repair this dial (which had been damaged by the weather) at the cost of 500*l.*, but his offer was refused.

Vertue tells us that he saw some of the remains of these dials previous to their sale at Buckingham House.

There was also a curious *jet d'eau*, with a sun-dial, within the walls of the Palace. It was the custom for inquisitive strangers, when examining the dial, to be plentifully sprinkled with water, which was forced up by a wheel, turned at a distance by one of the gardeners. So we gather from the passage in Hentzner's 'Travels,' which we have quoted in a former Chapter.²

THE STATUE OF JAMES II.

In the fine statue, which represents King James II. habited in the dress of a Roman Emperor, and which is now placed in the gardens of Gwydyr House, we have an example of the work of Grinling Gibbons. The material is bronze, though Hughson, in his 'Walks through London,'

¹ *Anecdotes of Painting*, ii. 54.

² Ch. VIII. p. 84.

written in the year 1817 (vol. ii.), describes it as composed of brass. It was erected, at the cost of 500*l.*, in Whitehall Yard,¹ at the back of the Banqueting House, and placed upon a pedestal over six feet in height, 'at the charge of Tobias Rustat,'² who seems to have been Keeper of Hampton Court and Yeoman of the Robes. Historians differ as to the date of the erection, some giving it as New Year's Eve, 1686, others as New Year's Day, 1687. It remained in its original position for over two hundred years, in fact, till 1898 when it was removed to the garden of Gwydyr House, where it now stands, facing the Treasury buildings.

From the position of the right hand, which carries a bâton, some people used to think that the King was meant to be pointing to the spot on which his father Charles I. had been executed. But the idea is erroneous, forasmuch as his Majesty was beheaded on the other side of the Hall.

Since the statue has been removed to its present position an inscription (there was none originally) has been placed on its stone pedestal. It runs as follows :

JACOBUS SECUNDUS

DEI GRATIA ANGLIÆ SCOTIÆ, FRANCIÆ
ET HIBERNIÆ REX.

FIDEI DEFENSOR. ANNO MDCLXXXVI.

¹ In this yard was situated the Office of the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer, where is kept the ancient chair covered, with needle-work, on which the Lord High Treasurer of England used to sit.

² Bramston, p. 253.

‘This statue,’ says Hughson, ‘is a fine performance, possessing grace and dignity in a superior degree. The attitude is fine, the manner free and easy, the execution finished and perfect, and the expression of the face is inimitable, as it depicts the very soul of the unhappy monarch whom it is intended to commemorate.’

During the great fire ‘the figure was surrounded with flames, upon which it was said that this was the first time James had ever stood fire.’¹

Ralph says that in consequence of this fire all the royal apartments were destroyed, ‘and our Sovereigns have since chosen to keep their Court in that irregular unsightly heap which, at this day, by the courtesy of England, is called the Royal Palace of St. James.’²

¹ *Pictorial History of England*, vol. iv.

² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER X

THE HORSE GUARDS, THE TREASURY, AND THE
ROYAL UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION, AND SCOT-
LAND YARD.

THE HORSE GUARDS

THE present buildings of the Horse Guards, so named from the fact that the cavalry guard of the Sovereign is always stationed there, are situated immediately opposite the Banqueting House in Whitehall, on the north part of the Tilt-yard, as shown on Vertue's plan of 1680. Upwards of 30,000*l.* were spent in their erection. The new buildings, 'of which there is a view in the 1751 edition of Stow,' were begun in the year 1745, on the site of an old guard-house, which had been put up originally in 1641 for 'the Gentlemen Pensioners who formed the guard,'¹ there being no standing army before the reign of Charles II. The plans were designed by the celebrated landscape gardener, W. Kent, and the building was erected and completed by Vardy in 1753. 'Ludlow is the first

¹ Besant.

person who, in his writings, mentions the Horse Guards at Whitehall.' ¹

The building consists of a centre and two wings ; 'in the centre,' says Lambert, 'is an arched passage into St. James's Park, with a postern on each side for foot passengers, above which is a pediment, having the Royal Arms in bas-relief in the tympanum ; and over all is a cupola, serving as a clock tower. At each extremity of the centre is a pavilion. The wings are plainer than the centre. They consist of a front projecting a little, with ornamental windows in the principal face, and a plain one in the sides. Each has its pediment with a circular window in the centre.' ²

The following two extracts are transcribed from a volume by Mr. John Forster, entitled 'The Arrest of the Five Members by Charles the First,' and are taken from two letters, one of which had been written by a certain Mr. Thomas Smith, and the other by Under-Secretary Sidney Bere. Both were dated December 30, 1641, and both were addressed to Admiral Sir John Pennington. They point to the reasons which led to the permanent establishment of Foot Guards, and also of Horse Guards at Whitehall.

'The 'Prentices,' writes Mr. Thomas Smith, 'and our Souldiers have lately had some bickerings, wherein many of the 'Prentices were wounded, and

¹ Cunningham's *Handbook for London* ('Art.' Horse Guards), ii. 390.

² *History and Survey of London*. B. Lambert, 1806.

lost their hats and cloakes. This was don yesterday at Whitehall Gate, as the 'Prentices were coming from demanding an answer of their petition, lately exhibited to the Parliam^t House. The sould^r continue in greate numbers in Whitehall. These woundes of the 'Prentices have soe exasperated them, that it is feared they will be at Whitehall this day to the number of ten thousand; whereupon the souldiers have increased their number, built up a Court of Guard without the Gate, and have called down the millitary company to their assistance, and what will be the event, God knows.'

Under-Secretary Sidney Bere writes as follows : 'In fine, these distempers have soe increased by such little skirmishes, and now the trayne bands keepe watch everywhere; all the courtiers commanded to weare swords: and a Corps-de-Gard House built up within the railes by Whitehall.'

We learn from historians that the first troop of 'Horse Grenadier Guards' was raised in the year 1693, and that a second was added in 1702. Later on, however, a reduction was made in them, and the Life Guards, consequently, were raised on May 26, 1788.

The barracks of the Foot Guards, as at present situated, adjoin the Horse Guards on the south side.

The mortar, which stands on the Park side of the Horse Guards, was cast at Seville, by order of Napoleon, and it was subsequently employed in the bombardment of Cadiz, by Marshal Soult, in the

year 1811. Upon the retreat of the French army, after the battle of Salamanca, it was left behind. Finally, it was handed over to the Prince Regent by the Spanish Cortes 'in order that it might be placed in a Royal Park.'

It is interesting to observe that the heading, 'Tilt-yard Guards,' is written above the instructions hung up inside the sentry-boxes of the guards on duty in front of Whitehall buildings. Apropos of sentry-boxes, two of them are indicated in a view of Whitehall in 1669, engraved in 'The Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany,' published in London in the year 1821. A building for the use of the foot guards is also shown in it, together with a glimpse of the Treasury building. Another interesting drawing, made between the years 1746 and 1748, the work of Canaletto, pictures the old Horse Guards with the present Admiralty, and the steeple of St. Martin's Church in the distance. It is engraved in J. T. Smith's 'Westminster.' The present building of the Horse Guards, erected by Vardy, is shown in Rooker's engraving, dated 1766.

THE TREASURY AND THE ROYAL UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION

The block of buildings known as the Treasury lies between the Horse Guards and Downing Street, and, as its name implies, it is the office of the Lord

High Treasurer: 'an office of great importance, first put into commission in 1612, on Lord Salisbury's death, and so continued, with very few exceptions, till abolished in 1816.'¹

The shell of the Treasury dates from the time of George I. The new façade, which faces Whitehall, was designed by Sir Charles Barry in the year 1846; it replaced a heavy frontage, containing two colonnades, which had been designed and erected, between the years 1824 and 1828, by the late Sir John Soane.

The old Treasury, a stone building facing the Horse Guards Parade, was erected in 1733 from the designs of W. Kent, and is only a portion of a much more extensive front.'²

Of this old building Lambert says that the whole front is rustic. It consists of three stories, of which the lowest is of the basement kind, with small windows, though they are contained in large arches. This story has the Tuscan proportion, and the second the Doric, with arched windows of a larger size. The upper part of this story is with great inconsistency adorned with the triglyphs and metopes of the Doric frieze, though the range of the ornament is supported by neither columns nor pilasters. Over this story is a range of Ionic columns in the centre, supporting a pediment.³

The interior of the Treasury contains little of interest except the royal throne, which is still to be seen at the head of the Treasury table.

¹ *London, Past and Present* (Wheatley and Cunningham), vol. ii.

² *Ibid.*

³ *History and Survey of London*. B. Lambert, 1806

The Treasury buildings contain many offices, among which are the Council Chamber, 'commonly called the Cock-pit,' and the Privy Council Office, which is at the south end of the building, and occupies the site of the old Tennis Court.

UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION, WHITEHALL YARD

The achievements of Sir John Vanburgh, who built the first theatre on the site of Her Majesty's Opera House in Haymarket, 1705, and was Comptroller of the Royal Works, present a curious paradox to the student of art and letters. Author of one of the most witty and sparkling comedies of his generation, as an architect he exhibited exactly opposite qualities. The massive pile of Blenheim and kindred buildings in stone earned him the well-known epitaph :

Lie heavy on him, earth ; for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee !

But the grandeur of Blenheim did not satisfy him when he came to build a house for himself. He indulged in an experiment of mixed styles, mingling Gothic and Grecian in such a manner as to provoke the indignation of Swift. The satirist gave vent to his feelings in the lines :—

One asks the watermen hard by
Where may the Poet's Palace lie ?
Another of the Thames inquires
If he has seen its gilded spires.
At length they in the rubbish spy
A thing resembling a goose pye.



SIR JOHN VANBURGH'S HOUSE, 1817.

(From a Drawing by Richardson in the possession of E. Gardner, Eng.)

It was from the ruins of Whitehall Palace, 'the rubbish of an ancient pile,' that Sir John designed and built himself his goose-pie—the house with a small one at back in Little or Middle Scotland Yard.

In 1718 he memorialised for a lease stating :

That in the last year of the late King William, his Majesty was pleased to signify his pleasure by warrant from the Lord Chamberlain to the Surveyor of Works that the said Petitioner should be permitted to build himself a House at his own expense in Whitehall . . . upon which your Petitioner did build himself a House at his own expense ;

but having no certain legal term, prayed for a lease, which was granted for thirty-one years from 1719.

This was renewed to 'Dame Henrietta Vanburgh,' and again to 'Lady Vanburgh,' in 1767, for a term of thirty-five years.

In 1793 the lease was purchased by Major-General the Honourable Charles Stuart, and, in 1795, he memorialised for an extended lease. Nothing seems to have been done on this memorial, and in 1801, and again in 1803, General Stuart having died, his widow, Lady Anne Louisa Stuart, presented a further memorial for an extended lease, on the advice of the Surveyor-General.

A lease was granted to Lady A. L. Stuart for a term to expire at Michaelmas 1843. Lease was dated October 20, 1810.

Both the General and Lady Anne Stuart appear

to have resided at the principal house. The lease was renewed to their son, Lord Stuart de Rothesay, for twenty years from October 10, 1843.

At some time prior to 1832 a house in Whitehall Court—for a long time occupied by Mr. Pilkington—situate immediately west of a passage which led into Middle Scotland Yard, and ran between Mr. Pilkington's house and General Stuart's, had been appropriated by the Government for the use of the Committee of the Naval and Military Library and Museum, but the Royal Charter of Incorporation was not granted until 1860.

In 1832 the Committee were given the use of a house lying in Middle Scotland Yard, at the back of Lady Anne Stuart's premises, for the purposes of the Institution. In 1833 the Institution were given the use of another small house in Scotland Yard, adjoining the one given them before in place of Mr. Pilkington's house,¹ which was appropriated to the use of the Poor Law Commissioners.

In 1845 the Institution purchased, from Lord Stuart de Rothesay, the residue of his lease of the house built by Sir John Vanburgh, and they then closed up and built over a passage which ran between this house and the houses which they had occupied since 1831 and 1833.

The Institution was afterwards known as the

¹ This house was afterwards No. 7 Whitehall Yard, the offices of Sir James Pennithorne, and afterwards of Mr. Arthur Cates, architect to the Commissioner of Woods.



SCOTLAND YARD IN 1786.

(From an Engraving in the British Museum by E. Rooker, after a Drawing by P. Sandby.)

Royal United Service Institution. They remained in occupation of these premises (their tenancy in Sir J. Vanburgh's house being continued as a yearly one) until 1895, when they moved across the road into their new building, erected on the site of Dover House stables, and, after various structural alterations, into the Whitehall Banqueting Hall.

In March, 1891, upon the closing of Whitehall Chapel, the latter building, formerly the Banqueting House, was lent, during the late Queen's reign, to this Institution, which accordingly transferred its quarters thither. Various alterations were made, and new buildings added, the memorial stone of which was laid by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The new work was completed in two years, and the opening ceremony was also performed by the Prince of Wales on February 20, 1895.

SCOTLAND YARD

Scotland Yard¹ has attained a world-wide fame as the head-quarters of the Metropolitan Police. So completely identified, in fact, had the phrase become with the idea of our police and detective system, that, when the new office was built some years ago on another site, it was felt imperative to dub Mr. Norman Shaw's characteristic building 'New Scotland Yard.' This was erected east of the old office of the Civil Service Commission, on

¹ Sometimes known, according to books in the possession of the Office of Woods, as 'Base Court.'

an irregular polygon of land, of which the greater part was reclaimed from the river through the construction of the Embankment. The eastern boundary of this piece of land is Crown property, which has long been built over. Upon this irregular polygon New Scotland Yard stands, but it by no means constitutes the only building which has been attempted on the commanding site. The first enterprise which was tried was the building of an opera house. That failed, and upon its failure the ground was purchased by a syndicate, which set about the construction of a combination of offices and residential flats. That also failed; and then Mr. Childers, on behalf of the Government, purchased the ground for the purpose of a New Scotland Yard.¹ This is a matter, however, which affects but indirectly the historian of Whitehall Palace. Of the Scotland Yard which more properly concerns us there are two divisions—Great and Little Scotland Yard. It is supposed to derive its name from a palace which once occupied the site, and which was built for the reception of the Scottish monarchs when they visited London.

‘ On the left hand from Charing Cross be also divers fair tenements lately built, till ye come to a large plot of ground inclosed with brick, and is called Scotland, where great buildings have been for receipt of the kings of Scotland and other estates of that country: for Margaret Queen of Scots, and

¹ See *The Times*, May 3, 1890.



OLD SCOTLAND YARD.

(From a Water-colour Drawing by Shepherd in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)

sister to King Henry VIII., had her abiding there, when she came into England after the death of her daughter, as the Kings of Scotland had on former times, when they came to the Parliament of England.'¹

The situation and extent of Scotland Yard are clearly defined in old maps ; but details concerning the locality are scanty. The property seems to have been given originally by the Saxon King Edgar to King Kenneth III. of Scotland 'for the humiliating purpose of his making an annual journey to this place to do homage for his kingdom of Scotland. In after-times it was used by the Scottish Kings, when they came to Westminster to do homage, as Barons of the Realm, for the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon, and other fiefs held by them of the Crown of England.'²

No details of this Palace of Scotland have come down to us ; we know, however, that it was allowed to fall into decay in the reign of Henry VIII. ; we also know that the last of the Scottish royal family who resided there was Margaret Queen of Scots, sister to Henry VIII., who took up her quarters in the Palace after the death of her husband James IV., who had fallen at the battle of Flodden Field.

In Elizabeth's reign the Palace was a ruin, and there being no longer any use for it after the union of the Scotch and English crowns, it was dismantled.

It was incorporated with the Royal Palace of

¹ Stow, p. 168.

² *History of London.* B. Lambert, 1806.

Whitehall, and was divided into various offices for the members of the household.¹

Milton, the poet, after his appointment as Latin Secretary under the Commonwealth, in the year 1650, lived in a small apartment in Scotland Yard. Inigo Jones was also a resident there; so, too, was his successor as Surveyor of Works, Sir John Denham, the poet, who 'died at his office near Whitehall'² in March, 1668.

It was at the entrance into Scotland Yard that, during the reign of James II., Lord Herbert of Cherbury, brother of George Herbert, the poet (and himself no mean poet, for he anticipated Tennyson in the metre and some of the rhythms of his 'In Memoriam'), was waylaid by Sir John Ayres. Sir John attacked him from motives of jealousy, and, with aid of hired ruffians, endeavoured to assassinate him. But he did not even succeed in wounding his lordship.

Beau Fielding, the 'Orlando the Fair' of the 'Tatler,' died in Scotland Yard in 1712; and there also, in 1726, occurred the death of Sir John Vanburgh, the architect and dramatic writer, whose house³ 'was designed and built by himself from the ruins of Whitehall, destroyed by fire in 1697.'⁴

¹ *An Antiquarian Ramble in the Streets of London* (J. T. Smith), vol. i.

² *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

³ See Chapter xii.

⁴ Cunningham's *Handbook for London*, ii. 730.



THE STAIRCASE AT GOWER HOUSE.

(From a Drawing made in 1819 by C. J. Richardson, now in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)

CHAPTER XI

CELEBRATED HOUSES WITHIN THE PRECINCTS OF THE
PALACE

BEFORE the great fire, which destroyed the principal parts of the Palace, took place in the year 1698, the houses and buildings in the 'Three Scotland Yards' and Whitehall Court, &c., were almost entirely occupied by the different officers and servants attached to the Court.

However, when the Court was removed across the Park to St. James's, leases were granted from time to time of different parts of the site of the old Palace, upon which houses were erected. Nearly the whole of the Privy Garden and Whitehall Court also have been thus granted by lease, and are now held as part of his Majesty's Land Revenue.

Some leases have also been granted of portions of the Scotland Yards; but the greater part of the buildings there—though, upon the removal of the Court, they ceased to be employed for the service of the Royal Household—have, nevertheless, continued in the possession of different officers, who

hold their appointments from the Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain.

When the reduction of the Civil List Establishment took place in 1783, several of the offices, with which houses or apartments had been held, were abolished, and, in the year 1787, an Act was passed for the sale of upwards of twenty different houses or tenements in Scotland Yards. But afterwards it was found that the sale of those houses would be a very great impediment to the improvement of the rest of his Majesty's property situated in Whitehall, and it was therefore thought advisable not to sell them. Consequently the Act which authorised the sale was repealed, and the houses and grounds were put under the same regulations as the rest of the Land Revenue.

Most of the houses which, from one cause or another, were better known, have been pulled down, or so altered as not only to bear no resemblance to, but, what is more, to blot out all trace of, the original structure.

We shall now proceed to give some account of the most famous of the foregoing. The chief information concerning them has been obtained from the Office of Woods and Forests.

RICHMOND HOUSE

The first Duke of Richmond occupied a house or lodgings adjoining the Bowling Green, within the precincts of the Palace, and looking out on the

river.¹ This was presumably the same house as that which had been occupied by his mother, the Duchess of Portsmouth.

It is not quite clear whether this house was burnt down in the great fire, or whether the Duchess had other lodgings in the Palace.

In the year 1709, the second Duke of Richmond applied—to quote the words of one of the books of reference at the Office of Woods—for

a grant from her Majesty of the ground rent in Whitehall, that I may repair and build a house, and in case Whitehall is to be rebuilt, I may have (in the grant or lease of thirty years) a compensation for what I lay out, not exceeding 3,000*l.*; but if her Majesty² does not think fit to have any new buildings, I should be very well satisfied with that house that was the Duchess of Richmond's. I hope my demands are not unreasonable, considering my mother's lodgings were burnt when the Queen was a Princess.³

A lease was granted to the Duke (March 20, 1711), who at once erected a house, though he did not adhere to the particular boundaries of the premises which had been demised to him.

In 1732 the third Duke of Richmond applied for a renewed lease, this lease to include a vacant piece of ground which lay between his courtyard and the Thames.

On May 19, 1733 (6 George II.), a lease was granted of the premises occupied by the Duke, in-

¹ This is shown in Vertue's map of the Palace from a survey taken in 1680.

² Queen Anne.

³ *Office of Woods Books*, A³, p. 357.

cluding the small piece of land above referred to, which was to expire in March, 1763.

In the year 1738, upon a further appeal from the Duke for a new lease, certain houses, occupied at the time by Lord Middleton and Sir Philip Meadows,¹ were surveyed, with the result that they were reported as 'old and ruinous, supported by buttresses in some parts, and of no service or benefit till taken down or rebuilt.'

The lease was granted, in 1738, of the sites of these old houses and of the premises which had already been leased to his Grace, for a term of fifty years.

A passage or causeway between these premises and Montagu House was reserved, as a means of access to the Water Stairs, which were to be shifted by the Duke from the Privy Garden.

In 1750, on the death of the third Duke, his widow memorialised the Treasury for a fresh lease, which was granted to her in 1752.

This lease afterwards became vested in the fourth Duke, who, in 1781, petitioned for a new lease. After this had been granted, he seems to have materially altered the house, at considerable expense to himself, and further proceeded to reclaim the shore of the river that had been included in the lease.

The Duke, moreover, acquired not only the leases of two houses, which separated his house

¹ Comptroller of the Accounts of the Army.

from Parliament Street, but also the right to part of the Privy Garden that had been enjoyed with these two houses.

These two houses were formerly but one house, which had been built in the reign of James II. in the Bowling Green, as an office for the Scotch Secretaries of State. On the suppression of that office at the time of the Union, the Earls of Mar and Loudoun obtained leave from Queen Anne to inhabit this house. They proceeded to divide the building into two separate dwelling-houses, and leases were afterwards granted to them, which were renewed at different periods, down to the time when the Duke acquired them.

James Oswald seems to have been occupying, in 1764, the house which had been previously occupied first by the Earl of Mar, and later on by the Honourable Mrs. Erskine.

In the year 1789, one house was occupied by Lord George Lennox, and the other by a certain Colonel Lennox.

On the application of the fourth Duke of Richmond, a fresh lease for fifty years of the three houses, as well as of the ground which had been reclaimed from the river, was granted to him. It was dated April, 1791.

Richmond House was celebrated, in its palmiest days, for its statue gallery and valuable collection of antiques. It was almost entirely destroyed by fire on December 21, 1791, and it seems probable

that, when rebuilt, the two older houses were thrown together and made into one.

Though the lease of this house did not expire till April, 1841, the Duke, in the year 1820, parted with his interest to the Crown, who purchased it for the sum of 4,300*l.*, together with a freehold house in Parliament Street, which adjoined, on the south side of Richmond House.

In the year 1823, the whole combined site was cleared, and in the following year Richmond Terrace, as it now stands, together with the Mews on the south side of it, was erected on its site.

Certain additions were made to the Terrace Garden at the time of the construction of the Thames Embankment.

MONTAGU HOUSE

In the year 1718, Robert, Viscount Molesworth, petitioned for a lease of a piece of waste land, 'which had not yet been disposed of or put to any use, which contained about seventy feet in front, and about ten feet in depth,' lying within the precincts of Whitehall Palace, and near the Privy Garden. With the King's consent, the lease was granted, in 1719, for a term of thirty-one years.¹

In addition to the above, on the petition of Colonel Charles Churchill, a lease was granted to

¹ This was part of the site of the apartments in the Old Palace formerly occupied by the Prince of Wales, Lord Peterborough, and Mrs. Kirk.



*Whitehall,
from a picture in the possession of the Duke of Rutland.*

him (also for thirty-one years), from 1724, of a piece of land in or near the Privy Garden, which abutted north on land belonging to Lord Molesworth ; south on a passage to the Water Stairs, and a house (Richmond House) in the possession of the Comptroller of the Clothing of H.M. Land Forces ; west on the Privy Garden, and east on the river.¹

These two leases, within a space of a few years, seem to have become vested in John Duke of Montagu, who, in 1731, petitioned not only for a new lease of these same premises, but also of an additional piece, adjoining the Privy Garden. Accordingly, in the same year, a new lease was granted to him, for a term of thirty-one years, which included the three plots for which he had petitioned.

Shortly afterwards Montagu House was built, which was, in 1733, valued by the Surveyor-General at '200*l.* per ann.' At this time the Duke obtained a lease for thirty-one years 'of a further piece of the Privy Garden' on which to erect stables, and applied also for a new lease for fifty years.

In the year 1742, the Duke applied for a renewed lease of the land that had been leased to him, which included the ground on the south-west side of his house

lately used as a Passage to the Water side, and also a considerable area of the shore or bed of the River, where

¹ This must have comprised the rest of the lodgings, in the old Palace, of Mrs. Kirk.

quantities of Mudd and filth of all kinds collect and settle, to the great nuisance and damage of your Memorialist, whose habitation is thereby rendered, after all the expense he hath been at, very unwholesome.¹

A lease was granted the same year, which contained provision for assigning part of the shore to the Duke of Portland.

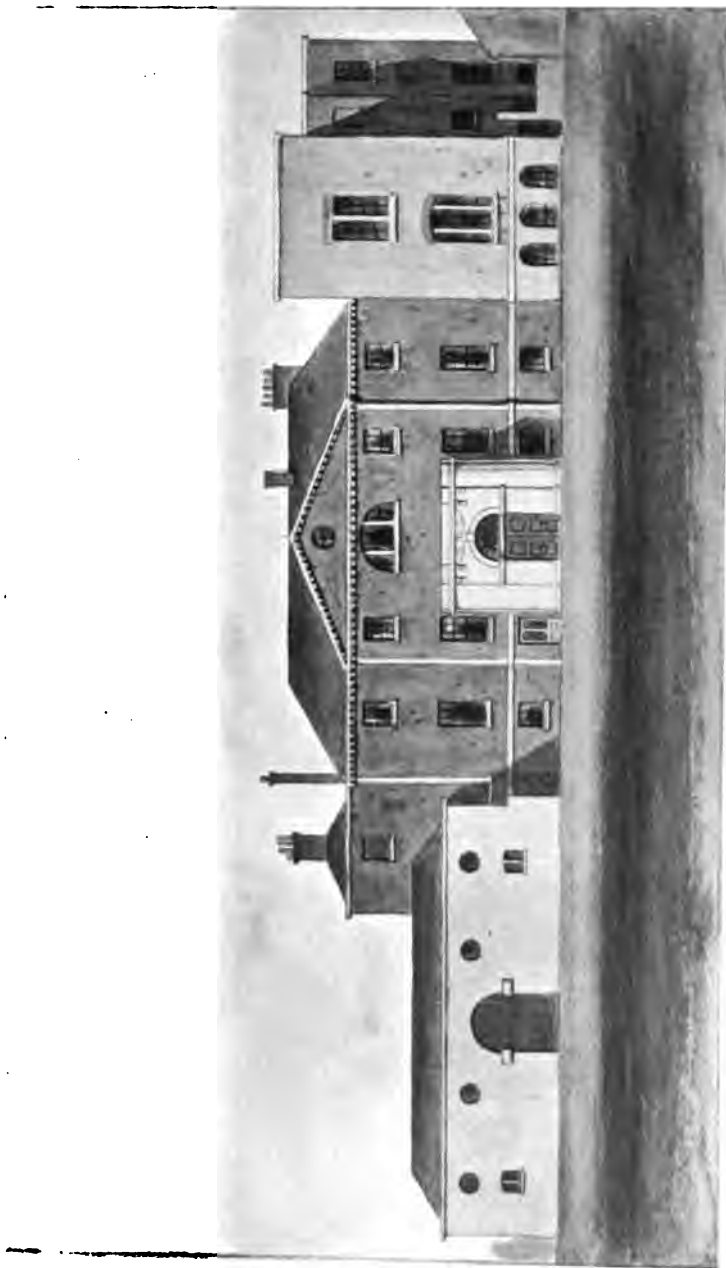
In 1767, 'Edward Montagu and William Folkes,' as executors of the late John Duke of Montagu, applied for 'a new Reversionary Lease of all the premises held by the late Duke.' This was granted in January 1768, the same provision being contained in the lease which assigned part of the shore to the Duke of Portland.

The lessees held this lease in trust for Mary Countess of Cardigan, the Duke's daughter, wife of George Earl of Cardigan, who afterwards became Duke of Montagu.

The Duke and Duchess of Montagu left surviving an only daughter (Duchess of Buccleuch) who, under the will of her grandfather, John Duke of Montagu, became entitled to a life interest in the premises.

George Duke of Montagu, and Mary Duchess, had acquired, it seems, the lease of a house and garden which had lately belonged to Mr. J. P. Smith. This house lay north of Montagu House, and

¹ This shore of the river lay partly between the Duke of Portland's lodgings and low-water mark. His Grace did not object, provided he could have an assignment of the part opposite him, paying a proportion of rent and expenses.



OLD MONTAGU HOUSE, 1825.
(From a Drawing in the British Museum.)

east of the stables. A fresh lease of these premises was obtained in 1768, for fifty years, 'for the separate use of the Duchess.'¹

In the year 1810, a lease of the premises above referred to was granted, for a term of sixty-two years, to Henry Duke of Buccleuch.

This lease was surrendered in 1855, and the house as it now stands was rebuilt between the years 1858 and 1860.

In 1870 a new lease was granted for a term of ninety-nine years.

The present house is built in the French Renaissance style, and the designs for it were furnished by Mr. William Burns. Augustus Hare, in his 'Walks in London,' writes of this house as follows :—

The stately modern house with high roofs was built in 1863, by the Duke of Buccleuch, upon the site of an old family mansion, erected immediately after the Court had abandoned Whitehall. The house contains some magnificent Vandycks, and one of the noblest collections of historical miniatures in England, beautifully arranged in large frames on the walls of the principal rooms. The important English miniatures begin with Henry VIII., Katherine of Arragon, Katherine Howard, and those who surrounded them. Elizabeth is represented over and over again, with almost all the leading characters of her age. The Stuart Kings follow, with their wives, mistresses, courtiers, and the chief literary men of their time; and the reigns of the Georges are represented with equal completeness. Many cases are devoted to the foreign miniatures,

¹ This house seems to have been removed, and the site made into an open yard.

of which most are French, and belong to the reigns of Louis XIV., XV., and XVI.¹

Among the more celebrated pictures by the various old masters may be mentioned one by Canaletto, which represents Whitehall, and includes Holbein's Gateway and Inigo Jones's Banqueting House.

Here also are 'thirty-five sketches (*en grisaille*) by Vandyck, made for the celebrated series of portraits etched in part by Vandyck, and published by Martin Van der Enden.'²

These sketches, it would appear, were at one time the property of Sir Peter Lely, and were purchased at his sale by Ralph Duke of Montagu.

PORTLAND HOUSE

In the year 1696, there was leased to William Duke of Portland, for a term of forty-two years,

a certain piece or parcel of land, with a building there-upon erected, lying or being within the Palace called Whitehall, in the County of Middlesex, being part, or reputed part, of the same Palace, abutting upon a passage leading under buildings towards another part of the Palace, and of a building then in the possession of J. Keppell . . . and abutting westerly upon another passage within the said Palace, called the Stone Gallery, whereof part was then lately destroyed by fire . . . and adjoining southerly to other ground, whereon certain buildings formerly stood, late also consumed by fire, and then

¹ *Walks in London* (Augustus Hare). ii. 224.

² *Cunningham's Handbook for London*, ii. 567.



THE DUCHESS OF PORTLAND'S HOUSE.
(From a Drawing made by J. Bromley in 1796, now in the British Museum.)

ruined, and a kitchen there of Algernon Earl of Essex, extending in that part from a place where the Stone Gallery also was formerly, upon the west part to the River Thames . . . and abutting easterly upon a yard or garden called the 'Terras Walk,' and upon the River of Thames, and containing in that part 105 feet, little more or less.¹

It is a somewhat curious fact that though these premises were leased to the Duke, and the house generally called 'Portland House,' yet no mention is made of it as such in the books of the Office of Woods and Forests.²

In the year 1724, Henry Duke of Portland petitioned for a new lease, upon which the Surveyor-General reported as follows:—

I likewise find that the greatest part of the premises consists of a slight old building, part timber and part brick, and that some out-offices (now in the possession of Mr. Smith, the Duke of Portland's Steward) have been built since the granting of the present lease, which said premises are together worth about 200*l.* per annum.

As the Duke died before the lease was renewed, it was granted to the Dowager Duchess for thirty-six years, from April, 1738.³

¹ It seems that, prior to the grant of this lease in 1696, the Earl of Mulgrave claimed an interest in these lodgings.

² In addition to these premises which were leased to the Duke of Portland, there were other premises which were leased to the Dowager Countess of Portland.

³ Two rooms were reserved on the second floor, which were part of Sir Conyers Darcy's lodgings. These were leased in 1759, first of all to Robert Earl of Holderness, and afterwards, in 1760, to William Duke of Portland.

In the year 1744, William Duke of Portland petitioned for a fresh lease of these premises, 'together with such parts of the Terras now in his Majesty's hands as lay between the said premises and the River Thames.'

The lease was granted for a term of fifty years.

In 1772 this same Duke again petitioned for a new lease, which was granted in the following year for twenty-seven years. As was usual in all such cases, the Surveyor-General was appealed to, who wrote thus:—

The buildings being part of the old Palace were in so ruinous a condition at the time of the last renewal, that there were several props under them to support them from falling down. They are now in a better state, and standing on a large spot of ground, and in a very pleasant situation, and are valued at about 200*l.* per annum.¹

In the year 1804, the Duke offered to sell to the Crown the unexpired term of the two above-mentioned leases, and they were accordingly surrendered on January 18, 1805. The buildings were shortly afterwards cleared away. The sites are now occupied by part of Whitehall Gardens.

The old Palace buildings, patched up and repaired, and somewhat altered, remained in all probability till this date.

¹ It was the wife of this Duke who succeeded in collecting a marvellous collection of art treasures, and among other things the celebrated Barberini Vase. At her Grace's death the entire museum was sold. The auction took place in 1786. The Barberini Vase fetched 1,029*l.*, the cameo of Jupiter Serapis 173*l.* 5*s.*, and the cameo of Augustus Cæsar 236*l.* 5*s.*

HOUSES FORMERLY HELD BY THE COUNTESS OF
PORTLAND

*Forming the sites of the 'three most northern Houses' in
Whitehall Gardens*

From a petition presented by Jane Countess of Portland in 1719, it would appear that she was not only then, but had for some time past been, occupying, by his Majesty's permission, certain premises on the site of the northern end of Whitehall Gardens. They immediately joined Pembroke House on the south side, and included a house, which she had repaired at a cost of at least 500*l.*, together with its grounds.¹

The King granted her a lease of these premises, and of the 'Terras Walke' thereunto adjoining.'²

In the year 1724, the Countess applied for a renewed lease, which was granted for a term of fifty years, and also for permission to cover 'a passage leading from the said Privy Garden to the River Thames, through which your Memorialist has an entrance into her said lodgings, and the passage being uncovered, the rain that falls makes

¹ This house had formerly been in the possession of the Earl of Albemarle, lately deceased.

² The Terrace was an addition to the Palace, made in the reign of William and Mary, and was sometimes known as Queen Mary's 'Little Garden.' It projected some distance towards the river, and lay between Pembroke House, the premises leased to the Countess of Portland, and a part of those held by the Duke of Portland.

it very troublesome and dangerous for her to walk along.' ¹

The Surveyor-General in his Report refers to these premises as 'parcel of the said Royal Palace of Whitehall,' and it would seem that they were in all probability some of the old buildings of the Palace, which had partially escaped the ravages of the great fire. The Surveyor-General further reports that the Countess had erected the 'Carcass' for a building adjoining the Terrace Walk, at the cost of about 700*l.*, which required a further sum in order to complete it, and that 'the messuage or lodgings were an old decayed building, and would want great repairs.' He recommended, however, a lease for fifty years, with power to cover the passage—

provided such covering be not raised above ten feet high, and that the said Passage be left seven foot wide in the narrowest part, and kept in good order, and that a way be reserved to the Royal Family through the said Passage, across the said Terras Walke to the Water Staires belonging to the Privy Garden.

Lady Portland seems to have been inconsiderate in her use of the Terrace, and a great difference arose in consequence of this between herself and Lord Pembroke.

For the latter memorialised the Treasury for a revocation of the lease of the terrace to her ladyship, and mentioned that her lodgings were 'so large

¹ This passage was probably that shown on Vertue's map as leading to the Privy Stairs. These stairs were absorbed by the terrace, which had stairs to the river at either end.

as to be divided into two considerable houses, one of which she letts out at a very advantageous rent.' He proceeded further to say that the lease of this terrace was obtained

under pretence that the said Terrace lay immediately between her said houses or lodgings and the River Thames, and was so represented to the Lords of the Treasury and the then Surveyor-General of the King's Land, without giving your Memorialist any notice of the same, and under colour of the said grant she did take possession of the whole Terras to herself, whereas there is not more than one half of it that lyes between her lodgings and the River: all the rest lying between your Memorialist's house and the said River, and before which grant the said Terras was a common benefitt to the King's tennants in the Privy Garden, they having keys to the same: that since the obtaining of the above mentioned grant, the said Countess of Portland has, contrary to the intention thereof, caused to be planted upon that part of the said Terras forrest trees, between your Memorialist's house and the River, to the very great annoyance and prejudice of him as to his present term, and to the damage of His Majesty's interest therein, as to the Reversion.

Lord Pembroke also complained that the trees blocked up his light, and would damage a wall which he had to maintain, and also the terrace itself, 'it being cased with stone, and many arches of brick work under it, which is said to have cost the Crown 20,000*l.* in building.'

The Countess, in her reply, contended that her leases comprised the whole terrace. She admitted that she had planted the trees referred to, but she claimed that they could do no damage. At the

same time she complained that Lord Pembroke had opened lights in the afore-mentioned wall, and had made a receptacle 'for offal and rubbish,' to her great annoyance. She memorialised for the removal of various encroachments which, as she alleged, Lord Pembroke had made on the terrace. She claimed the wall, and mentioned that it formerly 'had windows in it, when it was part of a house or a lodging, but that the said windows were soon bricked up after the Fire of Whitehall, and had constantly remained so ever since, till of late the Earl had opened several windows to look on the Terrace.'

Lady Portland further alleged that his Lordship hath built on other parts of the said wall, and hath projected some part of the same building near a foot over the said Terras or Garden, so as to drop upon and annoy the same.

Again, she complained that Lord Pembroke had erected a building or gateway which encroached upon the Privy Garden, and interfered with access to the passage to the Thames.

In 1735, Lord Pembroke replied to these charges, claiming the wall, and adducing evidence of his acts of ownership; and at the same time defending his other acts, which had been complained of, and mentioning that, among other things, he had laid out upwards of 8,000*l.* on the house.

The result of this controversy was that Lady Portland surrendered her lease of the terrace in

1744, and applied in that same year for a new lease, both of the messuages held by her, and also of that portion of the terrace which lay between her houses and the river.

The Surveyor-General found that she had possession of some land, with some old buildings upon it, which had not been comprised in her original lease, and, moreover, that though the new buildings erected by her were very substantially built, yet that the rest were old and wanted considerable repair. The lease was, however, granted in 1744 for a term of fifty years, a right of passage along the covered way to the river being reserved to members of the Royal Family.

The premises belonging to Lady Portland were divided into two separate houses. One of these she assigned, in 1747, to a certain Mr. Andrew Stone (a reversionary lease of this house being granted to him, in 1758, for twelve years) ; the other house was, in the year 1773, occupied by Captain, afterwards Admiral, Bentinck, to whom the lease was given.

These two houses were somewhat 'intermixed,' and the house held by Andrew Stone was also 'intermixed' with the house on the south side, which had been leased to the Duke of Portland.

Andrew Stone died in 1774, and a renewed lease of the house occupied by him was granted to Hannah Stone, his widow, for seventeen years from August, 1807.¹

¹ This lease would expire in August, 1824.

The lease subsequently became vested in the Marchioness of Exeter, who occupied these premises and declined to surrender her lease in 1806, when the present Whitehall Gardens were commenced.

Admiral Bentinck sublet his house to Lord Sheffield, and he continued to occupy it. In 1808, however, it was occupied by Sir John Thomas Stanley (of Alderley), who applied in that year for a new lease, with a view to building, and he continued to occupy the house¹ up to Lady-day, 1824, when he sold his interest to Alexander Grant.

At about the same time, the lease of Lady Exeter's house became vested in the Right Honourable Robert Peel, who, with Mr. Grant, and with the concurrence of the Surveyor-General, proceeded to clear the two sites, and to build houses thereon in Whitehall Gardens, thus completing the terrace.² In the dining-room of this house, No. 4 Whitehall Gardens, Sir Robert Peel died, in 1850, from the effects of a fall from his horse on Constitution Hill.

It may here be mentioned that the buildings in Whitehall Gardens, in which the Board of Trade have been located since the year 1868, occupy the site of five different houses, the greater part of which still remain, although they have, of course, undergone considerable structural alterations, in order to

¹ The lease to the Countess of Portland, which would have expired in 1795, does not seem to have been renewed as regards this house.

² Mr. Peel's one house is said to have cost him 14,000*l.*, whereas Mr. Grant's two cost him only 15,000*l.*

meet the special requirements of a Government Office.

That part of the building which is directly approached by the main entrance is known as Pembroke House, to which reference is made elsewhere.¹ The rooms which are directly to the left of the main entrance belonged to Malmesbury House. This house² was leased from the Earl of Malmesbury in 1861, when it was appropriated, together with No. 7 and the old Exchequer Office, for the temporary accommodation of the Foreign Office.

Still further to the left is Cromwell House³—to which reference is also made elsewhere—in the basement of which (now used as the Board of Trade luncheon rooms) are portions of the beer or wine cellars of old Whitehall Palace. For a few years prior to 1840, some of the Public Records were stowed away in them.

The range of buildings which stands at right angles to the main portion, and which extends almost to the United Service Museum, was known as Nos. 1, 2, and 3, Whitehall Yard.

No. 1 was used, from 1812 to 1840, by the Comptroller of the Exchequer, who then removed to No. 3. No. 1 then appears to have been used as a residence for the Secretary to the Commissioners of H.M. Parks, Palaces, and Public Buildings.

¹ No. 7 Whitehall Yard.

² No. 8 Whitehall Gardens.

³ No. 3 Whitehall Yard.

There was yet one other house,¹ which was formerly the residence of Viscount Gage. In the year 1892 it was assigned to the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade, whereupon an opening was made to connect it with the main building.

CROMWELL HOUSE

(No. 3 Whitehall Yard)

Cromwell House was situated in Whitehall Yard, and the basement of it 'may be pronounced, with some confidence,' says Mr. Smirke, writing in 1832, 'the work of Cardinal Wolsey.'

Mr. Smirke, in the letter from which we have quoted, expresses some surprise that the many who have taken upon themselves to describe the antiquities of London should be silent 'on the subject of this interesting fragment.' At the same time he admits that had it not been for the fact of his having to examine Cromwell House professionally, he would himself have been ignorant of its existence.

'This structure,' he continues, 'consists of an extensive apartment, groined in a massy and substantial style, and built of solid masonry, and now forms the basement story of the house above designated, in which have recently been deposited certain records of the Exchequer Court, as well as other legal documents. That it was included in that part of the Palace which was appropriated to Cromwell

¹ No. 4 Whitehall Yard, now known as 1, Horse Guards Avenue. An account of this house will be found under the heading of 'Holder-nesse House.'

may be readily inferred from its present name ; but that it was not built by him is rendered perfectly obvious by its style of design, which is very distinctly that Gothic which is usually, and perhaps with propriety, called the Tudor style. On the plan of the Palace in the time of Charles II. I find this building coincides exactly with what is there termed the "Wine Cellar," and closely adjoins the old Hall ; its ample dimensions fully confirm the accounts that are handed down to us of the profuse magnificence of the Cardinal's domestic establishment. The vaulted ceiling must have supported the floor of some state apartment of considerable size in connection with the Great Hall.'

Mr. Smirke gives a correct plan of the structure in question, and he shows, he says, on his 'Drawing No. 2,' 'a section through it, by which it appears that the present pavement is upwards of five feet above the original level.' This he ascertained by means of excavation.

'This alteration,' he continues, 'no doubt had been found necessary on converting the ancient structure to its present purpose of servants' offices ; for the floor is even now scarcely out of the reach of spring tides, and would therefore, at its former level, have frequently been under water—a liability which must, indeed, have rendered it but an indifferent place of deposit for wine.

'I have now,' concludes Mr. Smirke, 'to invite your attention to a drawing representing a doorway in good preservation, which was the principal entrance into this cellar, and which appears to have led into it from a passage intervening between the cellar and hall. I at first imagined that this doorway might have been a river entrance into the Palace, and that these vaulted cellars were originally a hall of entrance, under the principal

apartments ; but the discovery that the original floor of the cellars was so much below the threshold of this doorway makes the supposition inadmissible.

‘This arched doorway has all the characters of the Tudor period ; the arch is flat, and contained within a square architrave formed chiefly of a large bold hollow ; in the spandrels are shields ; that on the left bears a simple cross, with the ends slightly diverging ; the other, on the right, is much effaced by time, having been executed in a soft sandstone ; but after repeated and close examinations, I am much inclined to believe that it bore the arms of the See of York, impaled with those of Wolsey.’¹

HOLDERNESSE HOUSE
OF
MICHAEL ANGELO TAYLOR’S HOUSE
(*No. 4 Whitehall Yard*)

In the year 1718, Robert Earl of Holderness applied to the Crown for a lease of a piece of ground ‘within the Palace of Whitehall, covered with ruins, and of no use to your Majesty,’ which was granted that same year for thirty-one years.² His Lordship built a house which was valued by the Surveyor-General at 100*l.* per annum.

A renewed lease was granted, in 1749, to Robert Earl of Holderness, son of the above, for a term of forty-two years.

¹ *Archæologia*, 1834, vol. xxv. ‘Whitehall.’ (Letter from Sydney Smirke, Esq., F.S.A., to Henry Ellis, Esq., F.R.S.)

² The site of this house seems to have been part of the Great Hall and Chapel, or on the south side, close to these buildings.

In 1774, Audrey Dowager Viscountess Townshend petitioned for a further extension of the lease, for it appears that the house which had been built by Lord Holderness had been divided into two houses, and one of them had been assigned to Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., and the other to John Waple, Esquire. This latter house had been rebuilt since the division. The lease was granted in 1775.

In the year 1793, a certain Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor represented that he had purchased, five years previously, the lease of this house from the executors of the late Lady Townshend, and he petitioned for a further lease, since the whole of the premises, except one room, was so old as to admit of no material repair. The place, in fact, was, he urged, scarcely tenatable, and it was absolutely necessary to pull it down.

A new lease was accordingly granted in July 1805.

The lease of the above house was eventually assigned to Viscount Gage, who resided here for many years.

A considerable addition was made to the garden when the Thames Embankment was constructed.

Lord Gage's lease was not renewed, but on its expiration the premises were let for public offices to the Commissioners of Works. They are occupied at the present time (1901) by the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade, to whom they

were assigned in 1892. An opening has been made to connect the house with the main building.

LORD GRANTHAM'S HOUSE¹

(No. 6 *Whitehall Yard*)

In the year 1719 a certain Mr. George Treby, who was Secretary of State for War, represented that there was 'a small piece of waste ground amongst the ruins of Whitehall, near the passage to the river, which is of no use at present to his Majesty,' and he petitioned for a lease of this land 'to erect a lodging thereon for himself.' It was granted for a term of thirty-one years.

In the same year he was authorised to remove a wall, part of the old Palace buildings, which obstructed the view of his house.

In the following year, after Mr. Treby had commenced building, he found it necessary to apply for an extra grant of land which lay in front, in order that it might serve as an approach to his house. The lease was granted.

On the application of Mr. Treby, in 1737, a reversionary lease was granted to him of these same premises for thirty-one years, to date from April 1752.

However, in 1749, the lease became vested in

¹ This house, which was built on part of the site of the Great Hall and Chapel, was afterwards converted into the Offices of the Army Medical Board.

Sir Thomas Robinson, K.C.B., who applied for an extended term.¹

The Surveyor-General reported that the last lessee had erected a substantial house on the first piece of ground, to which the petitioner was then making some considerable improvements, and that the second piece of ground remained open.

A new lease of fifty years was granted. Sir Thomas, it appears, presented a further petition, and from this and the Surveyor-General's report it would seem that he (Sir Thomas) desired 'liberty of building over the passage leading close by his house to the river, which passage had been covered in and kept in repair by his Majesty's Board of Works, as a shelter for the watermen in wet weather.'

This 'liberty' was recommended, and Mr. E. Dunch, to whom reference has been already made, and who then held a lease of Fife House, gave his consent to the 'building in of the wall on the north side of the passage.'

Thomas, second Lord Grantham—son of the above—applied, in the year 1779, for a further extension of the lease of the house. This extended lease was granted, and was to commence in April 1800.

The house continued to remain in the occupation of the Grantham family until the year 1830, when, on the death of the Dowager Lady Grantham, it was given up.

¹ Sir Thomas afterwards became Lord Grantham.

It appears to have been then at once appropriated as an office for the Earl Marshal till the year 1833, though no reason can be given either at the College of Arms or at the Office of Woods for its having been so appropriated.¹

In 1856 it was used by the Army Medical Department, who continued to make use of this house until its removal on the formation of the Horse Guards Avenue.

Information can nowhere be discovered as to who occupied this house between the years 1833 and 1855. The premises were doubtless used for Government offices of some kind, for no reference to their being let is to be found.

PEMBROKE HOUSE

(No. 7 Whitehall Yard)

Also known as Harrington House

In the year 1716, Henry Lord Herbert petitioned the Crown for a lease of a piece of waste ground lying within the precincts of the Palace of Whitehall. The Surveyor-General's report, after viewing it, was—

that he had found it 'almost covered with heaps of rubbish, part of the ruins of the said Palace. It abuts,' he continues, 'south, on a little garden called Queen Mary's Garden ;² south-west, on a passage leading from the Privy

¹ *Report of 1833 on the Land Revenues* (Office of Woods) ; par. 677, of 1833.

² At other times this is known as Queen Mary's Terrace.

Garden to the aforesaid garden, and is bounded north-west and north-east on other ruins of the said Palace, and is in length, to the south-east 127 feet, to the north-west 120 feet, to the south-west and north-east 78 feet each way.'

In the following year, 1717, the lease was granted, and thereupon Lord Herbert set to work at once to build a large mansion, with stabling; but curiously enough, in doing so, he seems to have appropriated more ground than had been actually leased to him.

In 1728 he petitioned for an extension of lease, which was granted to him in 1730, for fifty years, on surrender of the existing lease.¹

In the year 1744, Henry Lord Herbert, who had now become Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, applied for a new lease of the premises previously held by him, and he desired to have included in it the portion of 'Queen Mary's Terras, which was used for pleasure and ornament to the said Queen's lodgings, which stood where your Memorialist's house stands.'

The Surveyor-General, in his report, stated that Lord Pembroke had encroached on the Privy Garden in erecting a 'Portall' at the entrance to

¹ At this time the Terrace, formerly known as 'Queen Mary's Little Garden' (part of which lay between Lord Herbert's house and the river), was leased to the Countess of Portland. Shortly after this, however, a great dispute arose between Lord Herbert and the Countess of Portland, his neighbour, respecting the use which had been made by her of the Terrace, and also respecting a wall which bounded this Terrace (*vide* Portland House). As the result of this dispute, the Countess surrendered her lease of the Terrace in, or just before, 1744.

his court-yard. Still a lease was granted for fifty years, including the encroachment and part of the terrace.

It appears, both from a petition presented by Henry Earl of Pembroke¹ in 1756, and also from the Surveyor-General's report, that the greater part of this house had by that time become ruinous, and had, moreover, been pulled down in order that it might be rebuilt in a more substantial manner. In consequence of this expenditure a new lease was granted in 1757 for a term of fifty years.

In 1797, forty years afterwards, George Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery applied for a further lease, stating as a fact that the premises had been rebuilt since the grant of the 1757 lease, at a cost of at least 22,000*l.*, and that the buildings were, at the time of his application, 'substantial and in complete repair.'

A renewal of the lease was granted in 1803, to expire in October, 1866. This lease became vested in Robert Henry Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and he, by deed of July, 1838, granted a lease to Charles Earl of Harrington for twenty-one years, the lease to expire in 1859.

Lord Harrington, it appears, resided in this very house in 1831, after giving up Harrington's House, St. James's Palace, and seven years before it was leased to him. In the year 1843 he made a

¹ Son of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery previously mentioned.

small addition on the south side of the house. Thereafter it became known as Harrington House, and is so referred to in the correspondence of that year.

In 1851 a sub-lease was taken of the premises for use as public offices, the premises being allocated to the Inclosure and Tithe Commissioners.

After being thus used for three or four years, it seems again to have been known as Pembroke House, for as such it is referred to in a letter of March 26, 1855, from the Commissioners of Works.

In this year (1855)¹ part of the house at least was occupied by the War Department, which continued to occupy it in 1859.

The plan of old Pembroke House (1797), which is preserved in the archives of the Board of Works, is an elaborate ground-plan, and shows that—in addition to the house—there were extensive offices and stabling, as well as a large riding-house, which had been formed on the site of the portion of the terrace included in the lease of 1757.²

This plan shows that the house was practically as it stands at the present day, except that the court-yard has now been covered and utilised, and

¹ Lord Panmure was Secretary of State for War at this time.

² This riding-school was covered by a 'lead flat,' which was on a level with the principal floor of the house. The riding-school, the stables, offices, and 'lead flat,' which had all become 'much decayed,' were all removed in 1818, and the greater part of the site converted into a small lawn or pleasure garden, the rest being renewed as a lead flat, with offices and a three-stall stable underneath.

that the Board of Trade occupy other premises which communicate with Pembroke House.

Several pictures, now in the possession of Lady Herbert of Lea, at Herbert House, Belgrave Square, hung originally on the walls of old Pembroke House.

GWYDYR HOUSE

(No. 2 Whitehall)

This house was situated next to the old Chapel Royal at Whitehall Palace, and was so called after a certain Sir Peter Burrell (his Majesty's Surveyor-General of Land Revenues in 1769) who, in the year 1796, became the first Lord Gwydyr.

At the time of his holding office, in 1769, he represented that

in order to the safety and preservation of his Majesty's Books, Plans, Title Deeds, and Surveys of his Lands in your Memorialist's office, he had laid before the Treasury the present state thereof, and that real losses had happened both to the Crown and the Subject for want of a regular office where these muniments could be kept ; that he had not proposed to burden the Civil List with that expense, which might be paid out of the fines for leases, but that the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General thought this inconsistent with the Civil List Act, and he therefore applied for the grant to him of a small piece of void and useless ground adjoining to the Lamplighters' Office in Whitehall, containing about seventy-six feet in length, and about sixty feet in breadth, on which a house might be erected.

This land appears to have been part of the Privy Garden. The surveyors who were instructed to report stated that 'the ground by the situation of it is liable to inundations at every spring tide,' and that there were no old buildings on the premises.¹

A lease was granted to Sir Peter Burrell, in June, 1770, for thirty-one years.

In the following year Sir Peter applied for a lease of an adjoining piece of land (on which the Lamplighters' Office stood) on which to build, instead of that already leased to him, and to have both pieces of land included in the new lease (which was granted to him for fifty years from December 1771).

The surveyors reported that they had surveyed the ground applied for, as well as

the old ruinous sheds standing thereon, the chief part of which is in the possession of the Lamplighter, an Office in the Department of the Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, who has signified his consent to the desired lease, provided the rent of 10*l.* per annum be paid to the Lamplighter for the time being in recompense for the old shed the Lamplighter is now possessed of, as has been frequently done in like cases. The other part adjoins to the building late the Secretary of State's Office, and is used at present for the custody of the wheels belonging to the State Lottery, which may be removed to Ely House,

¹ Mr. F. Hellard says that the only other reference to inundations which he had found was with regard to the riding-house adjoining Pembroke House ; but those buildings would have been much nearer the river, and the Privy Garden was apparently embanked from the river.

or to such other convenient place as your Lordships shall direct.

They also refer to other pieces of ground in Whitehall,

where the tenants of the Crown are liable to inundation from the Thames at all high tides, and are obliged to plank or pile the foundations at a great expense.

Gwydyr House was begun in 1772, and cost—according to a statement made in 1802 by Lord Gwydyr's son, when making an application for a new lease—upwards of 6,000*l*. This application was for an extended lease of the premises already demised, as well as for some additional land on the south and east sides.

The Surveyor-General, in his report, thought this demand excessive; but at the same time he recommended including in the lease, which would expire at Lady-day, 1871, some additional land as garden ground, making the area up to that now held with the house. By these means the former entrance through a gateway into the Privy Gardens was done away with, and the present road approach to Whitehall Gardens formed.

The leasehold interest in this house was purchased by the Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby, and was subsequently held, under the Baroness's will, by her daughter, the Countess of Clare, for her life.

In 1838, we find the members of the Reform Club occupying the building, while the present Club

House was in course of construction. They quitted it at the end of December 1840; and, from January 1842, the house was rented from Lady Clare by the Commissioners of Woods, for Government purposes, at a yearly rental of 700*l*. This arrangement lasted until the year 1869, when the Poor Law Board took possession.

In 1871, on the expiration of the lease, the Commissioners of Works took the house and garden on an annual tenancy at a rental of 1,300*l*. per annum.

In the following year the Local Government Board were the occupiers of these premises.

In 1876, however, the Charity Commissioners moved thither; and, ten years later, an additional story was added to the building, in order to house the increased staff necessitated by the passing of the City of London Parochial Charities Act.

The house has remained practically the same since it was built in 1772, except for the one-storied wing in the garden, which was added in 1898.¹

CARRINGTON HOUSE

(No. 8 Whitehall)

This house, which immediately faced the Horse Guards, formerly stood on part of the site now cleared for the new War Office, and also on land

¹ It is stated on good authority that this wing would have been carried higher had it not been found that the foundations rested upon sand.

now thrown into the Horse Guards Avenue,¹ and was built by a certain Lord Gower, who afterwards became Marquis of Stafford, between the years 1764 and 1779. In the year 1763, he proposed to take down the then existing buildings, as well as some old contiguous buildings, and to erect a new house on the joint site.²

The Surveyor-General, in his report, described the premises thus :—

The front part towards the street (*i.e.* Whitehall) consists of old buildings that escaped the fire when Whitehall was burnt.

He further stated that he saw no objection to the leasing of these premises, provided no damage were done to the Guard Room or the Jewel Office.

Lord Gower shortly afterwards built—from designs by Sir William Chambers—the house which was in later days to be known as Carrington House, together with the stables which lay at the back of No. 7 Whitehall. When the building was complete,

¹ There were two sets of stables originally attached to this house : one set extending behind No. 7 Whitehall, and the other set standing on the east side of the house in Whitehall Yard.

² In 1721, George Lord Newborough represented that he had ‘for many years been in possession of lodgings in Whitehall, part of which being crack’t and very much decay’d,’ and that he was willing to lay out money in repairing and rebuilding the same, if a lease for thirty-one years was granted to him. This was done. Lord Newborough afterwards became Earl of Cholmondeley. Having laid out money, he obtained a further lease for twenty-eight years, from the year 1752, which became vested in Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. James Cholmondeley, who obtained a further lease for ten years from 1780.

he applied, in 1779, for an extended lease, which was granted to him from that date for fifty years.

This lease of Carrington House and stables adjoining (though some old premises in Scotland Yard detached from the house were excluded) was purchased, in the year 1810, from Lord Gower by Mr. Robert Smith, who afterwards became Lord Carrington, and a lease was granted for fifty-six years.

The house continued to be held by the Carrington family till the end of 1885, it having been let on short tenancies after 1863, when the lease expired.

In the year 1885, it was proposed to pull down the kitchen apartments and stables, and to move bodily the main building, on rollers, northwards, so as to stand on the north side of what is now called the Horse Guards Avenue.

The Royal Engineers were to undertake the work, and plans were drawn out and prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel Seddon, R.E., showing how the work was to be done. But the scheme was eventually abandoned. Not only the cost of the undertaking, but the risk also, it was decided, was too great. In 1886, Carrington House was rased to the ground.

Carrington House, many of the ceilings of which were painted by Angelica Kauffmann—was a good, as well as the last, example of 'Anglicised Italian architecture, pertaining to the domestic style of the eighteenth century'—a style, it would seem, which

was peculiar to Sir William Chambers, to whom, it will be remembered, we owe Somerset House.

From the windows of one of the rooms, used as a dressing-room, the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were accompanied by the Princesses Louise, Victoria, and Maud of Wales, witnessed, on July 21 in the year 1884,

the great Liberal Procession in favour of the Reform Bill. The Procession, consisting of all the trades of London, reinforced by large numbers of agricultural labourers, went by the house twenty-five abreast. The Procession took three and a half hours passing the Horse Guards, and during the whole of this time their Royal Highnesses remained at the window.

A correspondent to the 'Birmingham Post,' in March 1900, wrote as follows :—

I hear that an interesting archæological discovery has been made in the course of the extensive excavations now being conducted on the site of Carrington House in Whitehall, where the new War Office is to be erected. The foundations of the old mansion are being removed, and about five or six feet below the surface the remains of several clearly defined and well-made roads have been laid bare, the direction of which throws an interesting light upon the topography of this part of Whitehall two or three centuries ago. It is scarcely to be wondered at also that in a spot so crowded with historic associations, situated as it is within a few yards only of the Banqueting House of Whitehall, where Charles I. was executed, some human remains also should have been discovered.

BUILDINGS ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF CRAIG'S COURT.¹

Craig's Court was, in all probability, named after a certain Joseph Cragg, or Craigg, as it is sometimes spelt, who, in the year 1693, petitioned for a lease of a tenement

that was granted by King James ye First, in ye ninth yeare of hys reigne, to Simon Bassile, Esq., Surveyor of His Majesties Workes, for sixty yeares, and by another patent to Thomas Carey, Esq, Groom of the Bedchamber to King Charles ye First, for forty-one yeares, to commence at the expiration of the above said sixty yeares.

From the report of the Surveyor-General, dated March 1693, it would appear that these grants had been made in 1611 and 1631 respectively, and that the premises consisted of—

A tenement, then new-built, on the north-west corner of Scotland Yard, containing, from north to south on both sides, seventy feet, and in breadth thirteen feet, abutting west on the High Street; east on Scotland Yard; north on a tenement of Sir Richard Cox, Knt, and south on Scotland Yard, and a piece of ground enclosed with a 'Pall,' parcel of the said Scotland Yard, lying on the east part of the said Tenement, containing in breadth, from north to south, seventy feet, and in length, from east to west, eighty feet, parcel of the Palace of Whitehall, and belonging to the Manor of Westminster.

The Surveyor-General advises that the premises had been transferred to Thomas Cole and others, and he had transferred their interest in part of the inclosed ground to Edward Vaughan, who assigned to George Jackson, whose

¹The other sides were not within the precincts of the Palace.

widow transferred to her son, whose widow assigned to the Petitioners.

That the premises transferred to her son were described as two tenements in the occupation of Anthony Mason and Edward Hussey, the ground employed as a garden lying behind them, a tenement built by the said E. Vaughan, formerly in the possession of J. Williamson, and another enjoyed by Thomas Williams, which last is now a small ale-house called 'The Hole in the Wall.'

That the ground on which the ale-house stood (and which was formerly a stable belonging to the Surveyor of Works, and on which the tenement in possession of J. Williamson was built), with a small court or garden between them, were not included in either lease, but enjoyed for many years as an appurtenant to the premises in Bassile's Lease, who being Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Works, and his own Clerk of the Works, I conceive 'twas not difficult for them to keep the possession of this slip of ground, which lies behind the Clock House, and other buildings and stables on the north side of Scotland Yard. I am the rather induced to believe this was the first occasion of the said encroachment, because I observe that the late Clerk of the Works for the time being had received a rent of LX. shillings per ann. for the said garden lying behind the two last-mentioned tenements.

That relying on his supposed title the Petitioner had pulled down the house occupied by Williamson, and begun to erect buildings for an addition to his other new buildings near thereto.

That the Petitioner could not have a Lease of the premises comprised in the Grant to Bassile and Carey, as those premises were included in a lease to John Hall, Esq., of the Manor of Westminster, but that a lease might be granted him of the two last mentioned houses and the garden, which were of little value to any other person but the Petitioner, who has new buildings adjoining with an open court before them on the north side of the premises,

there being no front or passage to it but over the Petitioner's ground.

It seems that, before the lease was granted, Sir Humphrey Edwyn claimed part of the premises which it was proposed should be leased under the grant made to J. Hall, of the Manor of Westminster, and Mr. Cragg presented a further memorial to have the dispute settled.

In July 1694, Mr. J. Travers (Supervisor-General) and Mr. Christopher Wren surveyed the premises, and they considered that they were not included in Hall's grant.

A lease was accordingly granted to Joseph Cragg, or Craig, for ninety-nine years, which would have expired in 1794.

In the year 1783, Mr. Cragg's son petitioned for a renewed lease of the premises, and further desired to have included in the lease a shed at the east end.

The Surveyor-General caused these premises to be surveyed. The shed he described as a coal-shed, some time since used by the Board of Works, and afterwards as a stable by the Clerk of the Works, but, at the time of his survey, shut up and not used for any purpose whatever.

A lease was granted, not only of the premises comprised in the former lease, but also of the shed, for fifty years from July 1783. It does not, however, appear to have been renewed.

In 1840 the Crown laid out a considerable sum in altering and rebuilding these premises in order

to adapt them for the Museum of Practical Geology, which continued here from this year till it was removed in 1850 to its permanent buildings in Jermyn Street. The premises thus vacated were appropriated to the use of the Registrar-General for the purposes of the Census.

In 1863 they were formally leased to the Commissioners of Works for public offices, and are now occupied by the War Department.

The east-end wall was considerably altered on the building of the hotel in Northumberland Avenue, and the windows were enlarged.

FIFE HOUSE

(Including the houses afterwards known as 'Little Fife House,' and No. 4 Middle Scotland Yard)

These properties were situated immediately north of the passage to Whitehall Stairs, and stood next to the building which, in after years, came to be known as the 'United Service Museum.'

In the year 1685, a certain Patrick Lambe, a master cook to King Charles II., represented that, being encouraged by promises of his late Majesty, he had laid out a considerable sum of money in building a house upon a piece of ground which adjoined the lodgings belonging to the 'Office of the Pastry' in Whitehall, and he prayed that a lease might be extended to him, which was granted for a term of thirty-one years.



LORD FIFE'S HOUSE.

(From a Drawing made by C. Tomkins in 1801 in the British Museum.)

In 1717, Edmund Dunch, Esq.,¹ represented that he had expended a considerable sum in finishing, repairing, and 'making necessities' for the purpose of accommodating his family in the house which he was then occupying in Scotland Yard (though it does not appear by what right he occupied it), and he prayed for a lease of the house and waste ground which fronted it, which was at once granted to him for thirty-one years.

Mrs. Dunch, widow of the above, petitioned in 1721 for a new lease of the house and ground which she already held, stating in her petition that she had purchased 'the term or tenancy' in the waste ground which had been leased to the aforesaid Patrick Lambe.² The lease was granted to her, in 1722, for a fifty years' term.

In 1752 she again petitioned for a further lease, which was granted in 1754, on the ground that she had been put to considerable expense in rebuilding part of the house and walling in the waste ground, which had since been made into a garden.

This lease seems to have become vested in Sir George and Lady Oxenden, who, in 1762, obtained the necessary authority either to build a new house on part of the garden or to pull down the old house, and, on the ground, to build two new houses.

¹ The Dunch family had been strong Parliamentarians in the Civil War, and were related to Cromwell. A certain member of the family was one of Cromwell's 'Peers.'

² From the report of the Surveyor-General, dated February 1721, it appears that Patrick Lambe's house was burnt down with the Palace.

However, they did neither; but, instead, sold the lease of the old house to James Earl of Fife, who, in 1764, memorialised for and obtained a new lease of the premises.

In 1772 his lordship represented that

at low water, and all times in ordinary tides, a considerable piece of waste land appears between the Bank or Dyke on the east side of your Memorialist's garden at Whitehall and the water edge of the River Thames, which is a common receptacle for the bodies of dead animals, for offals, the clearing of kitchen gardens, and other filth, to the great annoyance of the neighbourhood, and to the endangering of the health of the inhabitants in hot weather; that to remove so dangerous and disagreeable a nuisance, and to enlarge your Memorialist's premises, he was willing to embank to low water, or as far as might be thought proper, on getting a grant of the ground, and being permitted to take the same into his garden.

Mr. Thomas Yeoman, an engineer, was forthwith consulted, and, having made a survey of the river, gave it as his opinion that the proposed embankment would not prejudice navigation, and would remedy the nuisance. The Surveyor-General, on the other hand, thought that such an extensive enclosure would be undesirable, and further showed, on a plan which he submitted at the time, an amended line for the embankment.¹ No further action seems to have been taken in this matter, and Lord Fife presented another memorial in 1782, when a lease

¹ This plan showed that the Whitehall Stairs consisted of a wooden bridge, called Whitehall Bridge, which led from the embanked land to a stone causeway.

was granted for a term of thirty-one years. In 1794 he again asked for a renewal of his lease, which was granted in 1805, on the ground that he had spent a large sum of money in 'building and adorning' the premises leased to him, and, further, that he was at the time embanking, at great expense, the land which had been leased to him in 1782.

In 1809, on the death of Lord Fife, his executors assigned the lease to Robert Banks, Earl of Liverpool, for the sum of 12,000*l.*, who, in 1822, applied for a grant of certain ground, at that time vacant, adjoining the north side of his premises. But, though the Commissioners of Woods advised it, the lease was never actually granted. In the following year his lordship presented a memorial 'for a renewal of his entire holding,' which was granted in 1825.

In the report of the Commissioners of Woods the house was described as having no basement, 'and is,' the report adds,

throughout very ill-planned; contains three square stories besides two small garrets within the roof; the ground floor apartments are very low, and occasionally subject to inundation.

On the death of Charles Cecil Cope, third Earl of Liverpool, in October 1851, the title became extinct; but the lease was assigned to Mr. George Savile Foljambe,¹ upon trust for himself and his wife during their joint lives. For he had married

¹ Father of the present Lord Hawkesbury.

Selina Viscountess Milton, the second—but eldest leaving issue—of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Lord Liverpool. Here they resided till 1860; but between this date and 1864 the greater part of the premises were let by them to the Secretary of State for India, for the India Museum.

On the expiration of this lease, in 1868, the premises became again the property of the Crown.

Most of the Fife House furniture is now in No. 2 Carlton House Terrace, the London mansion of Lord Hawkesbury. It was conveyed thither nearly forty years ago when his lordship's mother (the second daughter of the third Lord Liverpool) moved into the house. But some tapestry supposed to have come from Fife House is now in No. 5 Carlton Gardens, Lord Muncaster's House, formerly the residence of Lord Pembroke. This mansion, with the tapestry, was purchased by Colonel Francis and Lady Catherine Vernon Harcourt¹ some time between the years 1850–60, and sold by them in 1878.

It was in Fife House that the celebrated Lord Liverpool (Prime Minister from 1812 to 1827) resided; and it was in the library of this house that he was seized with paralysis on February 17, 1827. He was moved, later on, when sufficiently recovered, to Coombe Wood, where he died sixteen months afterwards, on December 4, 1828.

Fife House, on a part of the site of which Whitehall Avenue and Whitehall Court and the

¹ The eldest daughter of the third Lord Liverpool.

stables are built, was celebrated for 'its famous picture of Mary Stuart, upon marble, and a head of Charles I., when Prince of Wales, supposed to be the work of Velasco.' This statue was executed in Spain when his Royal Highness was there in 1625. There was also

a portrait of William Earl of Pembroke, Lord High Chamberlain in the beginning of the reign of Charles I., a small full length in brown, with his white rod in one hand, his hat in the other, standing in a room looking into a garden. Such is the merit of this piece that, notwithstanding it is supposed to have been the performance of Jameson, the Scotch Van Dyck, yet it has often, says Mr. Walpole, 'been attributed to the great Flemish painter.'¹

In addition to these there were also portraits of the first Lord Liverpool, by Romney ; the second Lord Liverpool, by Hoppner and Sir Thomas Lawrence, and also a very good portrait of Mr. Pitt.

The house also contained some fine pieces of Gobelin tapestry, representing the 'Story of Susannah' and the 'Discovery of Joseph to his Brethren.'

The building itself, which dated only from the middle of the eighteenth century—1769—and was constructed of brick, had no architectural pretensions outwardly, but the rooms on the first floor were fine and well proportioned, and the staircase handsome.

¹ Pennant's *London*, p. 145 (1813). This picture is now at Herbert House, Belgrave Square, in the possession of Lady Herbert of Lea.

This house was pulled down in May 1869, but the lower part of the west wall, with the door into Middle Scotland Yard, and the wooden doors of the carriage entrance into the garden, which were between the south-west corner of the house and the United Service Institution, were still standing, as also one of the old elm trees in the garden, until a few months ago (1900), when excavations for the new War Office were begun.

The gates of the carriage drive, entering Fife House garden from Whitehall, were a fine piece of ironwork. When the house was pulled down they were purchased by the present Earl Carrington, and presented by him to the Duke of Fife on his marriage to H.R.H. Princess Louise of Wales, who caused them to be re-erected at his house at East Sheen.

One curious fact about Fife House was this : when a stock of coal was got in, it did not come in wagons, but by river ; the barge, at high water, coming close to the coal-cellar of the house, and the coal being discharged from it direct into the coal-cellar.

And there is a quaint tradition anent Lord Fife, to whom this house belonged. He, the story runs, was so much of a Scotchman that he vowed that, if he had to live in London, he would do so on Scotch soil. To fulfil his patriotic purpose, soil was brought specially from Scotland on which to build Fife House.

CHAPTER XII

CELEBRATED HOUSES WITHIN THE PRECINCTS OF
THE PALACE (*continued*)

DOVER HOUSE

(Including the Gateway across Whitehall)

DOVER HOUSE, as it is now called, was, in previous stages of its history, known both as York House and Melbourne House. It occupies the site of the lodgings or apartments shown on Vertue's map of the Palace as held by the Duke of Ormond, and it lies immediately on what was originally the Tilt-yard.¹

The first lease of this house was granted in the year 1717, for thirty-one years, to Mr. Hugh Boscawen, who, in 1720, became Viscount Falmouth. His lordship was Comptroller of the Household of King George I.

Part of these lodgings was already in his possession as Comptroller, and, in the year 1717, he applied

¹ From these lodgings the gateway across Whitehall sprang, so that this house remains as a sort of memento of that structure.

for a lease of that part, which, in his memorial, he described as

the messuage or tenement, with outhouses and other appurtenances thereunto belonging, adjoining to the Cock-pit towards the south, to a tenement in the possession of Mr. Vanhuls towards the east, to the Tilt-yard towards the north, to St. James's Park towards the west.¹

Shortly after the granting of this lease, Mr. Boscawen acquired the rooms occupied by Mr. Vanhuls, and (in consideration of the expense involved in this matter, as well as of the additional expense which he had incurred and still was incurring in repairing and rebuilding the lodgings) he applied, in 1720, for a new lease of the premises, which included Mr. Vanhuls's rooms, 'together with a small piece of ground, enclosed in St. James's Park, and a little slip pailed in ye Tilt-yard.' A lease, which included Mr. Vanhuls's rooms and the land referred to, was accordingly granted for thirty-one years, 'power being reserved to Hys Majestie to pull downe ye Gate, and to make ye line of building levell next ye street.'

In the year 1738, Lady Falmouth, widow of the above, represented that she had been put to considerable expense in the matter of repairs, and she prayed for an extended lease, which was granted to her for thirty-seven years from 1752.

In 1754 the lease was sold to Sir Matthew

¹ Mr. Vanhuls, who was Clerk of the Robes and Wardrobes to Queen Anne, seems only to have had certain rooms in this house.

Featherstonehaugh, who then memorialised for a further lease. When this was granted he rebuilt the house.

On Sir Matthew's death, in 1774, his administrators applied, on behalf of Lady Featherstonehaugh, the widow, for an extension of lease, which was granted for nineteen years from March 1805.

In December 1787, on payment of 12,600*l.* to Sir Henry Featherstonehaugh (Sir Matthew's only child), these premises were, by deed, assigned to H.R.H. Prince Frederick, Duke of York and Albany. His Royal Highness, after possession,

added a new central front, with a Dome and Portico extending across the footway next Whitehall, and grand Staircase in the Ionic order, after the designs of Henry Holland, the Architect,¹

who, in 1788, applied for license to extend the iron rails before the west front of this house towards the Parade in St. James's Park.

Three years later, in 1791, application was made on behalf of H.R.H. for an extension of the lease of York House, which was granted for a term of fifty years.

In November 1792, the following entry appears in the books of the Office of Woods :—

By an assignment of this date, after mentioning that Lord Melbourne was possessed of a freehold mansion in Piccadilly, lately called Melbourne, but then called York,

¹ A Royal Warrant was issued in June 1788, permitting this extension.

House, of which possession was given H.R.H. in December 1791, in pursuance of an agreement for an exchange of the leasehold house, lately called York House, but then called Melbourne House, and the building lately used as the Lottery House for the said freehold house, and that a money payment to equalise the exchange had been made by H.R.H., the premises comprised in the leases above were assigned to Reniston Viscount Melbourne, for the remainder of the terms for which they were held.

On November 17, 1823, a further lease of all the premises was granted to Lord Melbourne for a term of forty years from October 1842, which would thus expire in 1882.

However, in 1830, on the death of Lord Melbourne, the premises were assigned by his executors to the Right Hon. James Welbore Agar-Ellis, only son and heir of Viscount Clifden, who afterwards became Lord Dover.

The house, after his death, became vested in Lady Dover (his widow), and then, in 1864, in Viscount Clifden. When Lord Clifden died, his widow continued to reside there till the lease expired in 1882, when she took it on a yearly tenancy till 1885.

After that date the premises came into the possession of the Government, and since then they have been used as the offices of the Chief Secretary for Scotland, the Lord Advocate, and the Scotch Educational Department.

Mr. William Vanhuls, to whom reference has already been made in this chapter, appears to

have had his lodgings in the Palace, 'over the Stone Gate, being the Gate across Whitehall, from the site of Dover House, and in some places styled the Cock-pit Gate.'

In the memorial, which he presented in 1711, he stated

that his late Majesty King William, at his first arrival at Whitehall in the year 1689, was graciously pleased to appoint to the brother of the said William Vanhuls, and soon after to himself, the lodgings over the Gate near the Park; that great part thereof was burnt down at the Grand Fire of that Palace, and the remainder saved by his special care and expense. . . . And whereas the said lodgings, being for the most part a plaister building, are by reason of what was burnt down become soe very weake, inconvenient, and scanty, that unless thoroughly repaired and some small addition made thereto, neither are nor can be of any longer use,

he applied, in consequence, for a lease of these lodgings, with the addition of 'so much ground as in the survey shall be thought reasonable.'

Mr. Vanhuls does not in any way seem to have overstated the condition of the said lodgings, for the Surveyor-General reported thus :—

I find that certain Roomes in the Gateway next the Tilt-yard leading to King Street, Westminster, and other roomes in the paper building adjoining to said Gateway, over the Gallary leading to the Great Staires into St. James's Parke there, which gally is soe decay'd, and the timbers pressed out from under the said rooms that they will fall in if not speedily supported, and the whole lodgings, notwithstanding the expense the Petitioner alleadge he hath already been at in repairing them, doe require a

considerable sume to be laid out to make the same continue usefull.

Mr. Vanhuls also applied, as others had done, for permission to make use of 'old materials' lying on the premises, for rebuilding his lodgings.

To this request the principal officers of her Majesty's Works (Christopher Wren, Wanbrough, and B. Jackson) replied :

that the said ruins having been twice, in great part, already turned over upon several occasions, and what was most valuable in them taken out, we conceive, if he be obliged to carry off the useless rubbish, what he finds there will hardly quit his cost.

Vanhuls rebuilt his house on a land lease, and in 1718 applied for a further lease of it and of the land adjoining. Though the lease was recommended, it does not appear ever to have been granted.

Mr. Vanhuls's interest in these lodgings was acquired by Lord Falmouth, and, in the year 1734, a certain Edith Colledge, whose lodgings had been pulled down with the rest of the buildings, and who had a lease of a lodging in the Old Paper building, adjoining the passage which led from St. James's Park into the Cock-pit, petitioned for a reversionary lease of the house which had been erected by Mr. Vanhuls.

In 1735 the Surveyor-General reported that this house was situated in the middle of the space

near the Treasury, Secretary of State and Plantation Office, 'where room was so frequently wanted,' and that it would be for the public convenience to have the space near those great offices as much opened as possible, and he advised that the premises should be retained in hand on the expiration of the lease. But his advice was disregarded, and the Treasury authorised the granting of a lease for a term of forty-one years from the year 1743.

The road from Charing Cross to Westminster Hall was widened by order of the Commissioners for building Westminster Bridge.¹ Under this Act the stone building or gate, and also the house built by Mr. Vanhuls, and last leased to Edith Colledge, were removed, and the sites thrown into the road, the Commissioners at the same time buying the lease from Mrs. Colledge, and paying the Crown for its interest.

The Surveyor-General valued the Crown interests

over and above the old materials, which were part sold, and other part sent to H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland at Windsor, by order of your Lordships,

in his report of December 14, 1759, and he described the stone building as

a building within the Palace of Whitehall, called the Stone Gate, and situate in the Street leading from Charing Cross to Whitehall, being an ancient, beautiful, and strong building in the hands of the Crown, where the State

¹ Act, 29 George II.

Papers that were saved at the fire of Whitehall were deposited.

From a memorial presented by the Bridge Commissioners, it would appear that this stone gateway was removed by men who were employed for the purpose, in July 1759.

MALMESBURY HOUSE¹

In the year 1720, a Mr. John Hanbury petitioned for a lease of a vacant piece of ground within the precincts of the Palace.

The Surveyor-General, who advised the granting of a lease for thirty-one years, stated that

there is an old Building standing on part of the ground above described, which is in the possession of one Christopher Shrider, Organ Maker in Ordinary to his Majesty, which he uses for a Workshop.

After the granting of this lease Mr. Hanbury erected 'a good house and offices.'

On Mr. Hanbury's death, in 1736, his widow, Bridget Hanbury, petitioned for an extended lease, which was granted to her.

In 1767, a lease was granted, for twenty-nine years, to William Lord Tracey, John Parsons, Esq., and John Hanbury, merchant, in trust for Mrs. Jane Hanbury, widow, for life.

In 1804, the Honourable Katherine Gertrude

¹ This house, which is a brick-fronted house, is now united with Pembroke House, though easily distinguished from it, and both are known as 7 Whitehall Yard.

Robinson (widow of the Honourable Frederick Robinson, deceased), and the Right Honourable James Earl of Malmesbury petitioned for a renewal, and stated that by an indenture of assignment, dated April 12, 1788, the lease of 1767 was assigned to the petitioner, the said Earl of Malmesbury, who was then the surviving trustee of the petitioner Katherine Robinson's marriage settlement, and the house was then in Mrs. Robinson's occupation.

The said petitioners shortly afterwards submitted a further petition, in which they stated that, in 1788, when Mrs. Robinson's late husband purchased the lease, he had applied for a renewal, and was informed that one could not be made at that time, but that it was expected that the reason which occasioned the postponement would shortly cease, and that Mr. Robinson's application would then be attended to, and that he would have the preference of renewal, and that, relying upon this assurance, Mrs. Robinson had expended upwards of 3,000*l.* in repairs and improvements.

A new lease, for a term of twenty-eight years, was accordingly granted to Mrs. Robinson in 1807.

In 1829, Mrs. Robinson petitioned for a renewal, but it was not granted in consequence of a report by the Board's architects, who recommended that a renewal of the lease should, for the present, be withheld, with a view to future improvements.

In the year 1835, the solicitors to the Earl of Malmesbury, sole executor of Mrs. Robinson's will

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and the owner of the lease, as well as the occupier of the house, offered a reversionary term of twenty-one years, so as to make the term co-extensive with that of Pembroke House adjoining, and after considerable negotiation a lease was granted from April 1845.

Upon the expiration of the lease, in 1866, the premises were retained and occupied as Government Offices, and were united with Pembroke House.

STANHOPE HOUSE

(Also called Dorset House)

Stanhope House occupied a somewhat less space than Dorset House, by which name it was known after it had been enlarged, and the adjoining premises had been taken in. For Dorset House covered the same site, and included, in addition, as is shown in Vertue's map of 1680, the site of the lodgings of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

Wheatley and Cunningham, in their 'London Past and Present,' refer to the following advertisement in the 'London Gazette' (No. 748), of July 1672 :—

There was a trunk on Saturday last, being the 18th inst. (July 1672), cut off from behind the Duke of Albemarle's coach, wherein there was a gold George, eighteen shirts, a Tennis Sute laced, with several fronts and laced Cravats, and other Linen. If any can give tidings of them to Mr. Lymbyery, the Duke's Steward at

Stanhope House, near Whitehall, they shall have five pounds for their pains and all charges otherwise defrayed.¹

A large part of the old house still stands. The frontage, which forms part of the present façade of the Treasury buildings, is against Dorset House, and seems to have been erected without disturbing much of the principal parts of the old house.'²

The first lease of this house seems to have been granted in 1717, for thirty-one years, to Thomas Pitt, Esq. He was a trustee for the Right Hon. James Stanhope, afterwards Lord Stanhope, and First Lord of the Treasury.

Mr. Pitt laid out a considerable sum of money in improving the house, and was anxious to lay out further moneys in erecting additional buildings.

It seems that, by the direction of the Treasury, a lease was also granted in this same year

to the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Stanhope, for thirty-one years, of a piece of ground, situate in St. James's Park, whereon now are or lately were standing the Offices of the Lord Chamberlain and the Scotch Secretary, with a little yard or garden thereto belonging.

On Lord Stanhope's death these premises were sold to Lionel Cranfield, Duke of Dorset.

In 1725, his Grace presented a memorial, in which he stated that there were certain lodgings

¹ Vol. iii. 301.

² The Surveyor-General thus described the position of the house in his report: 'Situate in or near ye part of ye Pallace aforesaid, called ye Cockpit: on ye West side of ye Street, between the two gates, leading from Charing Cross to Westminster.'

occupied by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, which overlooked the garden and were 'intermixed' with parts of the house which had formerly belonged to Lord Stanhope, but had now passed by purchase into his possession. He wished to re-arrange his lease with a view to obtaining control over these lodgings.

In accordance, therefore, with the Duke's request, the existing leases were surrendered and a new lease granted to him (for fifty years) of all the premises, including the rooms occupied by the Archbishop and Bishop. At the same time

the Duke of Dorset agreed to permit the Prelates to continue possession of their rooms until they should be otherwise accommodated to their satisfaction, or voluntarily quit.

In 1754 the Duke petitioned for a new lease, which was granted to him, for fifty years, in the following year.

On the death of the Duke, the lease became vested in his son Lord George Germain (formerly Lord George Sackville, and afterwards Viscount Sackville), who petitioned for a new lease in 1772. This was granted, from March 1805, for seventeen years, when the then existing lease would expire.

On Lord Sackville's death, in 1790, the lease was assigned to John Frederick Duke of Dorset, Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, and on his death the leases were vested in his widow, Arabella Diana Duchess of Dorset, who, in 1803, applied for

a new lease to herself and her then husband, Charles Lord Whitworth.

But, before matters were apparently decided, the Duchess offered to sell her interest to the Crown. The offer was declined, and at the same time the Treasury announced its decision that no application for a renewed lease could be entertained.

Five years later, however, in the year 1808, terms were settled for the purchase by the Crown of the leasehold interests. Then, after an interval of two years, all the preliminary arrangements and preparations for so great an event were completed, and in 1810 the Treasury occupied the premises.

LITTLE WALLINGFORD HOUSE¹ and PICKERING HOUSE

In the year 1689, a certain Mr. Blathwayt represented that

there are three houses, which belong to your Majestie in St. Jameses Park adjoining to the Horse-Guards, the one inhabited by the Earl of Ranelagh, and made use of for the Pay Office ;² the other held by Sir Robert Holmes, by lease from the Crown, now inhabited by the Petitioner at a great rent, and the other lately inhabited by the

¹ This house lay next to the Park, and Pickering House between it and the public street. They were bounded on the north by Wallingford House, which was outside the Palace precincts.

² The northern wing of the Paymaster's Office was a narrow house formerly leased to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

Lady Marshall, deceased,¹ in virtue of a grant from King Charles II. ; that since the death of the said Lady Marshall, certaine persons pretend a grant of the said house from Her Majestie the Queen Dowager, and by the same title claim is laid to the house of Sir Robert Holmes, to that of the Earl of Ranelagh, and even to your Majestie's Horse and Foote Guards, and to all the buildings as farr as the Cock-Pitt, though the same has, upon examination, been declared invalid by severall Attorneys-Generall of their Maties.

Mr. Blathwayt applied for a lease of the third house in his list, that, namely, which had been held by Lady Marshall.

The matter was referred to Sir George Treby, Knight,² who, after examining the claims of the Queen and her supposed grantees, concluded that there was no adequate ground for Mr. Blathwayt's application. However, the matter was next referred to the Surveyor-General, and, under his advice, a lease of these two houses was granted to Mr. Blathwayt for a term of thirty-one years from June 1699.

In 1721, Lieutenant-Colonel John Blathwayt, son of the above-mentioned Mr. W. Blathwayt, petitioned for a new lease, which was, in the year 1723, granted for a term of thirty-one years.³

This lease was afterwards assigned to George Earl of Kinnoull, who, in the year 1727, applied for

¹ Anne Countess Dowager Marshall.

² He was H.M. Attorney-General at the time.

³ From the report of the Surveyor-General, it appears that Colonel Blathwayt at this time had possession not only of the house formerly occupied by Lord Ranelagh, but also of Little Wallingford and Pickering Houses, which were much out of repair.

an extension of the term, which was granted for twenty-two years from November 1734 (when the existing term would expire), with certain restrictions on building, for the benefit of the Admiralty, then in occupation of Wallingford House.

In 1750 Lord Kinnoull petitioned for a further extension, which was granted for twenty-three years from May 1777. This was again renewed for fifty years from May 1761, on surrender of the former leases.¹ His Lordship's interest was afterwards transferred to Sir Richard Glyn, Bart., who, in the year 1772, applied for an extension of his term. He desired, moreover, to have included in the lease 'a piece of the St. James's Park lying in front of the house.'

The extended lease of the house was granted for eleven years; but the application for the ground from the park was withdrawn.

Sir Richard Glyn died before the preliminaries were completed, and the lease passed, in 1773, into the hands of Richard Carr Glyn and J. Glyn, his executors.

These premises were assigned, in November 1775, to Sir Robert Barker, and, ten years later, to Sir Robert Taylor, by whom, in 1785, they were handed over to the Commissioners of the Navy.²

¹ By this time Wallingford House seems to have been known as the Admiralty, and the name had got transferred to Little Wallingford House as well.

² Mr. Hellard, writing from the Office of Woods, says: 'I have not found the date of the building of the residence of the First Lord, nor the grant of the freehold with the Lords of the Admiralty.'

THE NORTHERN WING OF THE PAYMASTER'S HOUSE

This was formerly a separate house, built, apparently on part of the ancient Tilt-yard, by Sir Robert Holmes.

It seems that, in 1734, a certain Mr. Townsend Andrews, at that time Deputy-Paymaster of the Forces, applied for a lease of this house, which lease was granted to him for fifty years, as it was contiguous to his office.

The lease afterwards became vested in Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., who, in 1753, applied for an extension of the term. It was granted for a term of fifty years.

In the year 1769, the leasehold interest in this house—which was, on that occasion, described as ‘substantial, and then in the occupation of Charles Townley’—was acquired by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who applied for a further lease. A new lease, dated December 1769, was granted to the Bishop for sixteen years, from August 1803.

In 1804 the leases became vested in Richard Payne Knight, Esq., who applied for an extension.

In the following year the Surveyor-General reported that the house ‘projected in front of the residence of the First Lord, and was built on a bad plan.’ He advised that the lease should not be renewed, but that the house should be taken down as soon as possible.

The leasehold interest was accordingly bought up, and, on August 7, 1805, surrendered to the Crown.

ROCHESTER HOUSE¹

(Also called *Clarendon House*)

In the year 1686, Lawrence Earl of Rochester (Lord High Treasurer of England) directed the Surveyor-General to view the house near the Privy Garden, where he then lived, and to make a 'Constat'² in order to the passing to him of a lease of such part thereof as was not in the lease, already for thirty-one years, and of such part thereof as was formerly demised to Charles Cornwallis³ for such a term in reversion as might make up the present term to be thirty-one years.

The following is a translation of the parcels as intended to be demised :—

¹ It is not easy to make out the exact site of this house ; but it seems fairly clear that it stood, as shown on the plan of 1680, partly on the site of part of Captain Cook's lodgings, and, in all probability, partly on the land outside the Palace which abutted on the west side of the King's Gate, over which it extended. It also occupied part of the Palace site on the east side of this gate. The house seems to have been given up about the year 1722, and the King's Gate was shortly afterwards removed. This would have cut the premises in two. The portion left on the west side of King Street (which included land outside the Palace bounds) was subsequently leased to Horace Walpole, and was afterwards renewed, with additional premises, to him and to the members of his family. The portion on the east side of King Street was added to the roadway ; but the date of this alteration is uncertain.

² To make a 'Constat' = to draw up particulars for a lease.

³ This lease cannot be traced.

Coy of Middlesex.

Farm¹ of all that Mansion House situate, and being within or near the Parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, in the sd. Coy of Mssex, and Spheristerium² there (near the Cockpit) adjoining, formerly in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Cook, Esq., together with a small piece of land or area adjoining containing in length 62 feet, 2 ins. more or less, and in width 20 feet 2 ins. more or less, together with all &c. (easements &c.), which premises were demised (*inter alia*) to Charles Cornwallis, Esq., by Letters Patent of our Lord late King Charles II., passed under his Great Seal of England, dated the 30th day of July in the 27th year of his reign (in trust for the said Thos. Cook) from the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary then next for the term of twenty-one years then next ensuing, and since assigned to Wm. Shaw under a certain Indre under the hand and seal of the sd. Thos. Cook and ors.

Also of a certain other Mansion house with the appurts situate and being within the Parish aforesd. and adjoining the house and premises aforesaid with all places, structures, and buildings within or over (*infra vel sup.*) the great gate situate at the Northern end of the place called King St. and all other the buildings and edifices extending from thence towards the East 78 feet or thereabouts up to or near the Southern and Western angle of the private garden (Privy Garden) of the Palace of

¹ An old expression employed in leases, meaning profit and enjoyment.

² Spheristerium or Sphæristerium, 'a place for playing ball—a ball-court, tennis-court, or a game at ball.'—(*Latin Dictionary*, Lewis and Short, 1890.) *Sphæristerium*.—The Greek gymnasia had a special room, σφαῖρῆριον (Sphairisterion) for the purpose of playing at ball.—Smith's *Dictionary Greek and Latin Antiquities*, vol. i. art. 'Gymnasium;' vol. ii. art. 'Pila.' A tennis-court [*i.e.* a room for playing tennis].*—Smith's *Latin-English Dictionary*.

* The brackets show the writer's own explanation.

Whitehall adjoining and in width at the Eastern end of the said buildings 46 feet or thereabouts, and abutting on the said garden towards the Northern part, and upon the Mansion House now in the tenure of Hy. Guy, Esq., towards the Southern part, all which sd. premises before mentioned are now in the tenure or occupation of the sd. Lawrence, Count of Rochester, Lord High Treasurer of England, togr. with the appurts.

The Constat refers to the premises as follows:—

A Lease shall be passed to the sd. Earl of Rochester, or such as his Lordship should nominate, of the house buildings and premises last above mentd. then in the tenure of the sd. Earl and part thereof lately enlarged and now built towards the sd. Privy Garden for the term of 31 years from the date and of the first mentd. house buildings and premises (now also in his Lship's possession and likewise enlarged and built upon at his Lordship's own proper cost and charges) purchased of the above named Thos. Cook, and so assigned to Mr. Shaw for the term of 21 years to commence from the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary which shall be in the year of our Lord 1697 (being the expion of the Lease Patent granted to sd. Chas. Cornwallis) with a proviso for his Majesty to resume the same at any time within the said terms upon payt. to the lessee of a certain sum in satisfaction of the charges and expenses he had been put to in purchasing and building upon the premises.¹

In the year 1711, Henry Earl of Rochester petitioned for a new lease to fill up his terms in being to fifty years, in consequence of the premises being much out of repair and requiring much expenditure thereon.

¹ The Letters Patent which were granted to the said William Shaw are dated January 4, 2 James II. (1686).

The Surveyor-General having reported, a particular was then made for the passing of a lease to the petitioner

for such terms as would fill up those in being to thirty-one years, or (if my Lord Treasurer shd. think fit) it is now rather desired to surrender the present Lease and take new one for thirty-one years from the date which shall bring the premises to one certain term—

but no alteration is made of what is intended to be granted.

The date of the Letters Patent granted in pursuance thereof does not appear.

There is no plan of the premises as demised, but from the description in the lease, and the particulars hereafter mentioned, it seems clear that the premises described in the first instance formed the south-east portion of the premises marked 'P' on Vertue's plan of Whitehall Palace, and thereon stated to have been occupied by Captain Cook, whilst those described afterwards as adjoining thereto formed the King's Gate, or part thereof, and continued across the northern end of King Street to the Privy Garden.

Pennant, in his 'History of London,' when speaking about the two gates erected between Whitehall and King Street, says:—

The other gate there (the Holbein Gate) fell a sacrifice to convenience, within my memory,¹ as did another, in 1723, built at the same time, but of very inferior beauty. The

¹ See particulars of Dover House, and gateway adjoining.

last blocked up the road to King Street, and was called the King's Gate. Henry built it as a passage to the Park, the Tennis Court, Bowling Green, Cock-pit, and Tilting Yard.

The premises leased to the Earl of Rochester (who had become Earl of Clarendon) were resumed by the Crown at some date prior to 1725. No particulars, indeed, can be found relating to their resumption, but it is clear that they were resumed in order to effect an improvement by the removal of the gateway.

Mr. J. P. Malcolm¹ states that the Members of the Houses of Parliament found the gateways between the Banqueting House and St. Stephen's very inconvenient, and they made a resolve to remedy this inconvenience.

In the year 1722 they employed Sir Thomas Hewet (Surveyor-General) to examine the gateways, and he reported that they might be widened to fourteen feet nine inches for 105*l.*, provided the consent of the Earl of Rochester could be obtained for the alteration in the south gateway.

It is further stated by the same authority that 'the two gateways near the Cockpit, inhabited by the Earl of Rochester and H. Van Huls,² were ordered to be taken down, in 1723, to facilitate the passage to and from St. Stephen's Chapel and Westminster Hall; ' but the northern gate, *i.e.* the

¹ *Londinum Redivivum*, vol. iv. 'Whitehall,' 1807.

² This was the Holbein Gate, for Mr. Van Huls's house adjoined that gate. (The name Van Huls is sometimes written as one word.)

Holbein Gate, was apparently not removed till the year 1759.

In 1725, Mr. Horatio Walpole, Auditor and Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Revenues arising in America, petitioned and said that he was in great want of a house wherein to execute his office of auditor of his Majesty's plantations, and keep the books relating thereunto; that it had been usual for the Crown to annex to all public offices of that nature some house for transacting the business thereof, and as there was now remaining empty that part of the house lately resumed by the Crown from the Earl of Clarendon, which adjoined the tennis court in the Cock-pit, he prayed for a grant of the said part of a house to him and his successors in office.

The Surveyor-General, in his report, stated that he found the same to be part of the aforesaid resumed house, and to be situated on the north-west side of the way or passage leading from the said Cock-pit to King Street, Westminster, abutting south-east on that street; south-west on houses in Downing Street; north-west on stables in the possession of Count Bothmar, and north-east on the lodgings then in the possession of the Duke of Montague,¹ and the said tennis court, one part of which house had lately been rebuilt, but the rest was a very old building.

He suggested that if the Treasury should advise his Majesty to annex the house to the afore-mentioned

¹ Styled on the plan 'Office of the Great Wardrobe.'

office—whereby the books and papers thereto belonging might be the better preserved for his Majesty's use—a lease might be granted to or upon trust for the memorialist and his successors in office ; but at the same time he called attention to the fact that, by virtue of Letters Patent from the Crown, and long-continued possession thereunder, Charles Downing, Esq., claimed an interest in the vault then holden with the said house, and advised that his interest should first be extinguished.

Negotiations were entered into with a view to the surrender of this interest, but the matter apparently fell through ; and in the following year (1726) a further petition was presented by Mr. Walpole, and a lease was advised, with a clause excepting the vault, for a term of fifty years from the date, subject to resumption or the contingency of rebuilding the Palace of Whitehall.

In 1738, Mr. Walpole, having acquired the interest in some stables, &c., adjoining his house comprised in a grant to Sir George Downing, petitioned for a new lease of the house and stables, and to have a lease granted to him of an ale-house adjoining, which was situate on the north side of Downing Street at its junction with King Street, and also of three other houses (Nos. 1, 2, and 3) in Downing Street, which also adjoined his house. The houses, it was alleged, were wanted to enable Mr. Walpole to enlarge his house, though these works do not seem to have been carried out.

A lease was accordingly granted to Mr. Walpole of the house for a reversionary term of eleven years from January 28, 1777; the said vault or cellar for fifty years from January 28, 1738; and the ale-house and cottages for reversionary terms of twenty-five years from February 23, 1762.

Renewals of this lease were granted to the Walpole family in 1765, and again in 1784, the latter for a reversionary term of nineteen years from July 9, 1814. This lease, however, was purchased by the Government, and the buildings were taken down.

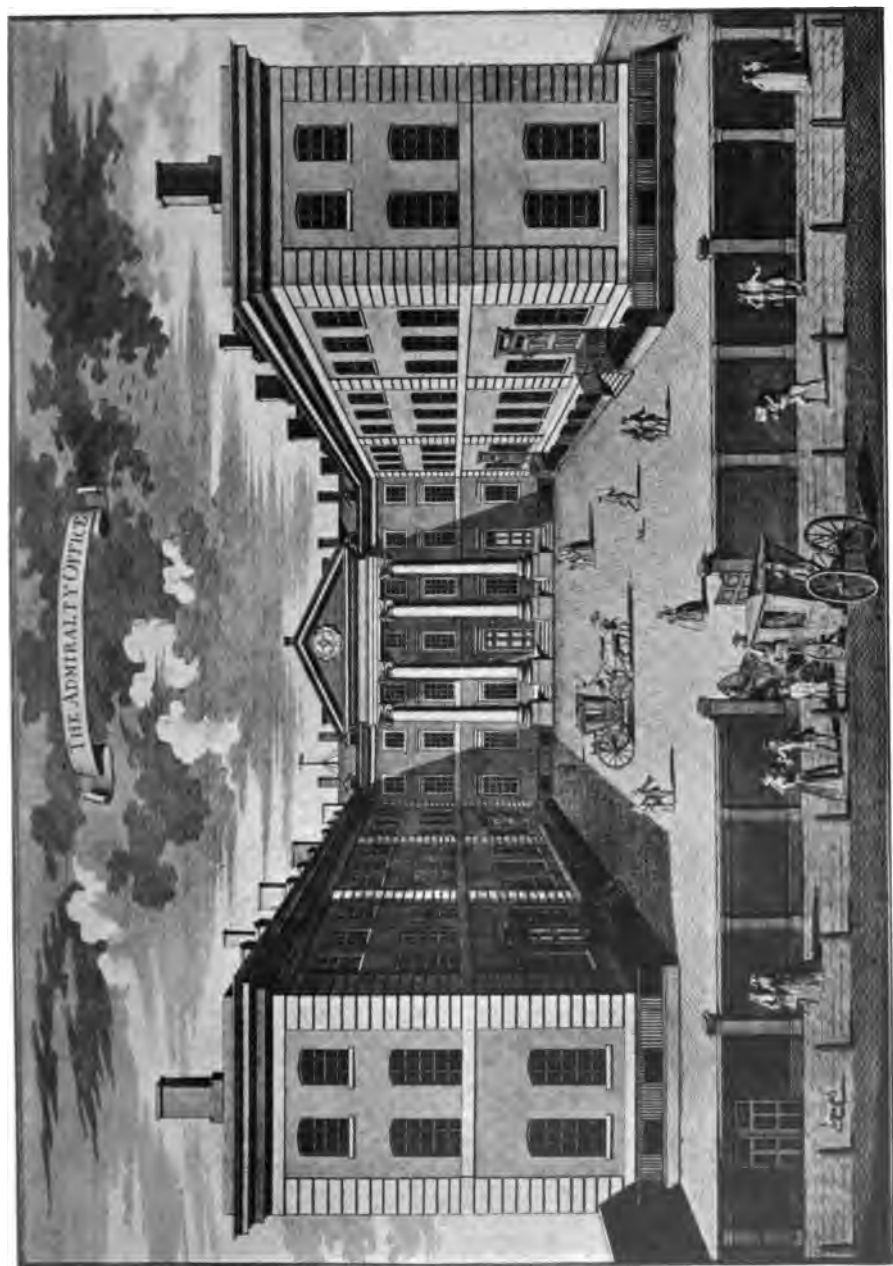
New offices were erected on the site, and are now occupied by the Education Department.¹

WALLINGFORD HOUSE²

This house, which Bassompierre, in his writings, called 'Valinforth,' was erected on the site of Mrs. Kirk's lodgings; on the site, in fact, of the present Admiralty House, on the west side of Whitehall, and north of the Palace buildings. It backed on to Spring Gardens, and does not appear to have been any part of the Palace; but owing to its connection with the past, and also to the interest attached to the building, it may be deemed not unfitting to make mention of it in a chapter which is concerned

¹ In Marquand and Leverton's plan of 1804 the premises are marked as having been in the occupation of the 'India Board of Controul.'

² Wallingford House was also called Peterborough House.



THE ADMIRALTY OFFICE.
(From an Engraving by Thomas Boules, 1731, now in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)

with houses of importance in the neighbourhood of the Palace.

The house was built in the reign of James I., and was so called after Sir William Knollys, who became Baron Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, and Earl of Banbury.¹

George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, purchased the house from Lord Wallingford in the year 1621. Here were born the Duke's first child (a daughter), in March 1622, and his eldest son—afterwards the second Duke—in 1627.

In August 1628, during the minority of his son, the Duke was assassinated.

During the Protectorate of Cromwell this house was inhabited by General Fleetwood, Cromwell's son-in-law, and it was here, in 1659, that the Council of Officers of the Army 'voted their adhesion to the good old cause' after Cromwell's death.

It was from the roof of this house that Archbishop Usher, 'who was then living here as the guest of the Countess of Peterborough,' viewed Charles I. as he was led forth to the scaffold in front of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. 'He sank back in horror at the sight, and was carried in a swoon to his apartments.'

Parr thus describes this scene :—

At the time of his Majesty's murder, the Lady Peterborough's house (where my Lord then lived) being just over

¹ Sir W. Knollys was Treasurer of the Household to Queen Elizabeth and James I.

against Charing Cross, divers of the Countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting before White-Hall. . . . The Primate, who could not stand the sight, fainted, was taken down, and put on his bed.¹

After the accession of Charles II. to the throne, Wallingford House returned to the possession of the Duke of Buckingham.²

The house assumed the character of an official residence very early; when Buckingham was created Lord High Admiral he established at Wallingford House a Council of the Sea—or Board of Admiralty.³

And, even after the Duke's assassination, the Board continued to hold its meetings at Wallingford House,⁴ and from here the Lord Treasurer dated all public records during the years 1674-1676.

This private residence was evidently fated to become a public office. It was bought by the Crown in the year 1680, and was devoted to the administration of the Fleet.

The Admiralty were certainly in possession of the building in 1695, when a grant was made to them of a part of the Spring Garden, which was to be used in conjunction with Wallingford House.

Wallingford House was demolished in the year

¹ Parr's *Life of Archbishop Usher*.

² The second Duke.

³ *London, Past and Present* (Wheatley and Cunningham).

⁴ *Strafford Letters*, i. 209.

1720, and the Admiralty House, as it now stands, was built in the reign of George I. in 1726. It was the work of one Thomas Ripley, who is mentioned by Pope in the 'Dunciad' (Book III.):—

See under Ripley rise a new Whitehall,
While Jones' and Boyle's united labours fall.

At one time there was, in the place of the present screen, a thick wall of stone, which aroused the disgust of many because of its ugliness and want of symmetry.

As a result of these complaints, the Brothers Adam were commissioned, in the year 1760, to build the present open stone screen, with its ornamental seahorses on the top. This colonnade, however, it must be remembered, was not erected till Whitehall had been widened and improved, after the removal of the Holbein Gate, in 1759.

'The Admiralty,' says Horace Walpole, 'is a most ugly edifice, and deservedly veiled by Mr. Adam's handsome screen.'

In this house lay in state the body of Cowley the poet, on its way from Chertsey to Westminster; and here, in a room to the left of the hall, the body of Lord Nelson lay in state. Here, also, in 1723, Susannah Centlivre, the dramatic author, died; and in his apartments here, in the year 1733, died the celebrated Admiral Byng (Viscount Torrington).

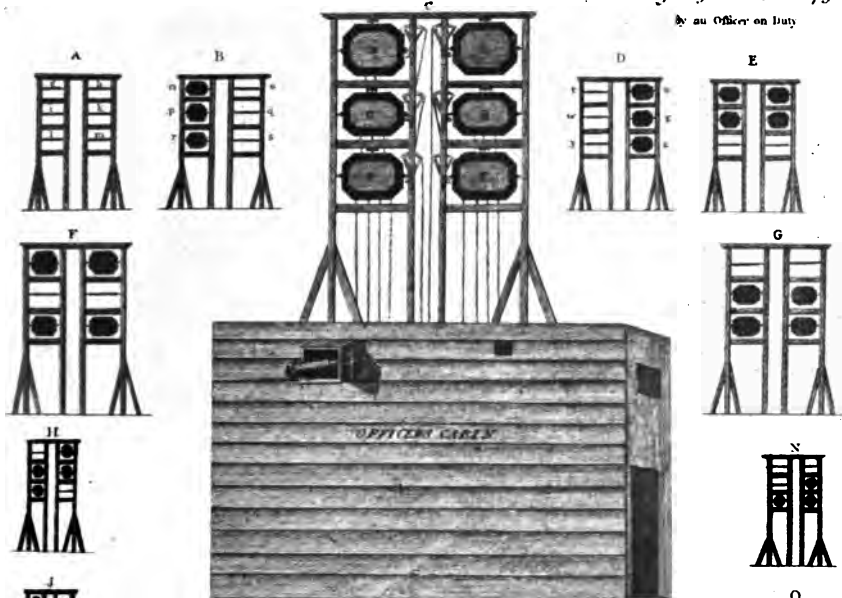
The carving in the Board Room is the work of Grinling Gibbons, and in this room are portraits, by

Sir William Beechy, of King William IV., and, by Leonardo Guzzardo, of Admiral Lord Nelson.

There is a narrow passage, Buckingham Court by name, running by the side of the present Admiralty House. 'This is all that remains to point out the site of what was once the princely residence of the Ducal House of Villiers.'

View of the TELEGRAPH erected on the *ADMIRALTY Office Charing Cross* in Feb^y 1796.

By an Officer on Duty



Explanation of the Telegraph.

When it appears as at Letter A, the Ports all open, it is not at Work, when the Ports are all shut as at Letter C, denotes it's going to work and a signal for the next Telegraph to look out in order to answer.

The Alphabet explained.

When the Telegraph appears as at C with the Ports all shut, the opening of the first denotes the Letter a, the second b, the third c, the fourth d, the fifth e, the sixth f, which is termed the first course — The second course the telegraph appears as at H, with the Ports all open the shutting of either denotes a Letter as they are marked this course contains the Letters ghiklm those are termed the second course. The third course the telegraph appears as at B then opening of either that are shut denotes the Letters nopqrs. The fourth course the telegraph appears as at D the opening shutting denotes the Letters tvwxyz.

Sentences explained.

When the order is Communicated to the Port Admiral in the Downs only the Telegraph appears as at B with the two lower Ports open. For the Port Admiral at Portsmouth the two middle Ports open as at F, and for the Port Admiral at Plymouth the two upper Ports open as at G. Commanders of Fleets, Squadrons and Cruisers have each a different Signal for example H for the Commander of the Channel Fleet J the Commander of the North Sea Fleet, K the Commandery of the West India Fleet or Convoys, and for the Cruisers in such a Port, signified

The Courses they are to steer are likewise denoted in the following manner M to sail to the Northward N to sail to the Eastward the first four wind O to sail to the Southward and P to sail to the Westward the first four Wind.

A signal for a Court Martial to sit and try Offenders is made as appears at Q and R to put the Sentence of a Court Martial into execution

Price 1 Shilling

Printed by J. M. W. & Co. in the Strand

(From a Print in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)

CHAPTER XIII

CARDINAL WOLSEY

THE name of Wolsey, priest, cardinal, and 'legate de flatere,' as well as Lord High Chancellor, is associated with the palmiest and most brilliant days of Whitehall Palace. York House, as it was then called, 'was fitted up in a style of great magnificence; the chambers were hung with cloth of gold and silver, and the services of plate consisted of massive gold.'¹ It was, as we have seen, to a great extent rebuilt by the Cardinal, and here it was that, 'ranking himself with princes, he was sweet as summer, and shone in the full meridian of his glory, and attained the highest point of all his greatness.'² Few, indeed, if any, potentates at that time lived in such state, and were attended with so much pomp and ceremony. His gentleman-usher, George Cavendish, tells us that his *entourage* consisted of about 800 persons, and that his expenditure was most lavish. For instance, in his dining-hall at Whitehall were three especial tables, which were

¹ Cavendish's *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (Singer's edition), i. 39.

² *London, or Interesting Memorials*, by Sholto and Reuben Percy, 1823.

presided over by three principal officers—a steward, who was always a dean or a priest; a treasurer, who was a knight; and a comptroller, who was an esquire, each of whom carried his white staff of office. A cofferer, three marshals, two yeomen-ushers, two grooms, and an almoner were also attached to his dining-hall. In the ‘hall kitchen’ were two clerks, a clerk comptroller, a ‘surveyor of the dresser,’ a ‘clerk of the spicery,’ two master cooks and ‘twelve labourers and children,’ a ‘yeoman of the scullery,’ two others in his silver scullery, two yeomen of the pastry, and two grooms. In the Cardinal’s private kitchen there was, in addition to two grooms and six labourers and children to serve, a master cook, who was dressed, on ordinary occasions, in damask satin or velvet, and who carried a chain of gold round his neck. In the larder there was a yeoman as well as a groom, and the same were to be found in the scalding house and scullery; in the buttery, the pantry, and ewery, however, there were two yeomen, two grooms, and two pages. In the cellar there were three yeomen, two grooms, and two pages; in the ‘Chaundery’ three persons, and in the ‘wafery’ two. In what was termed the ‘Wardrobe of Beds,’ there were the master of the wardrobe and ten assistants; in the laundry, a yeoman, a groom, and three pages; in the bakehouse, two yeomen and two grooms, in addition to the various officials connected with the wood-yard, the garner, and the garden.



Walter P. Woodville, p. 10.

Cardinal Wolsey.
from a picture in the National Portrait Gallery.

In the stables there were, amongst others, a master of the horse, a clerk of the stable, a yeoman, a saddler, a farrier, a 'yeoman of the chariot,' a 'sumpter-man,' a 'yeoman of his stirrup,' a muleteer, and sixteen stable grooms, each of them, according to Cavendish, keeping four geldings.

The officers and choir of Wolsey's Chapel at Whitehall were very numerous. They included a dean, a sub-dean, a 'repeater of the choir,' a gospeller, a 'pisteller,' and twelve singing priests (priests in ordinary of the present day); also a 'master of the children' (who were twelve in number), a servant 'to attend upon the said children,' and sixteen singing-men ('gentlemen') of the choir. In addition to the foregoing, there were a yeoman and two grooms of the vestry, also 'divers retainers of cunning singing men, that came thither at sundry divers principal feasts.'

The chapel to which these officials were attached was filled with the most costly ornaments, studded in most cases with pearls, and sumptuous crosses (borne by cross-bearers and pillar-bearers), and candlesticks. Cavendish says that he himself had seen forty-four very rich copes of one suit worn there in a procession.

To continue, however, the Cardinal's list of officials. There were, in his own chamber, a high chamberlain and a vice-chamberlain; twelve gentlemen-ushers, daily waiters and six gentlemen waiters in his privy chamber; also nine or

ten noblemen, each of whom had his two servants—the Earl of Derby (?) was allowed five. In addition to these were forty gentlemen who acted as cup-bearers, carvers, servers, and gentlemen daily waiters, six yeomen-ushers, eight grooms of the chamber. ‘Of yeomen of his chamber he had forty-six daily to attend upon his person.’ He had a priest-almoner to attend upon his table at dinner, a clerk of the closet, and sixteen chaplains, who daily said Mass before him, two secretaries, two ‘clerks of his signet,’ and four ‘counsellors, learned in the laws of the realm.’ In addition to all these, he had, as Chancellor of England, other officials as well as servants to attend upon them.

The Cardinal’s order ‘in going to Westminster Hall’ is thus described by Cavendish:—

‘Now I will declare unto you his order in going to Westminster Hall daily in the term season. First, before his coming out of his privy chamber, he heard most commonly every day two Masses in his privy closet: and there then said his daily service with his Chaplain; and as I heard his Chaplain say, being a man of credence and of excellent learning: that the Cardinal, what business or weighty matters soever he had in the day, he never went to his bed with any part of his divine service unsaid, yea, not so much as one collect, wherein, I doubt not, but he decided the opinion of divers persons. And after mass he would return in his privy chamber again, and being advertised of the

furniture of his chambers without, with noblemen, gentlemen, and other persons, would issue out into them, apparelled all in red, in the habit of a cardinal, which was either of fine scarlet or else of crimson satin, taffety, damask or caffia, the best that he could get for money ; and upon his head a round pillion, with a noble of black velvet set to the same in the inner side ; he had also a tippet of fine sables about his neck ; holding in his hand a very fair orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out, and filled up again with the part of a sponge wherein was vinegar and other confections against the pestilent airs ; the which he most commonly smelt unto, passing among the press, or else, when he was pestered with many suitors.

‘ There was also borne before him, first, the Great Seal of England, and then his cardinal’s hat, by a nobleman or some worthy gentleman, right solemnly bareheaded. And as soon as he was entered into his Chamber of Presence, where there was attending his coming to await upon him to Westminster Hall, as well noblemen and other worthy gentlemen as noblemen and gentlemen of his own family ; thus passing with two great crosses of silver borne before him ; with also two great pillars of silver, and his pursuivant-at-arms with a great mace of silver gilt.

‘ Then his gentlemen-ushers cried and said, “ O, my Lords and Masters, on before, make way for my Lord’s Grace.” Thus passed he down from his chamber through the hall ; and when he came to

the hall door, there was attendant for him his mule, trapped all together in crimson velvet and gilt stirrups, when he was mounted with his cross-bearers, also upon great horses, trapped with fine scarlet.¹

‘Then marched he forward, with his train and furniture in manner as I have declared, having about him four footmen, with gilt pollaxes in their hands ; and thus he went until he came to Westminster Hall door. And there alighted and went after this manner, up through the hall into the Chancery : howbeit, he would most commonly stay awhile at a bar made for him, a little beneath the Chancery on the right hand, and there commune sometimes with the judges and sometimes with other persons.

‘And that done, he would repair into the Chancery, sitting there till eleven of the clock, hearing suitors, and determining of divers matters. And from thence he would divers times go into the Star Chamber, as occasion did serve ; where he spared neither high nor low, but judged every estate according to their merits and deserts.’

¹ Before him ryde the two Prestes stronge,
And they beare two Crosses right longe,
 Gapinge in every man's face :
After them follow two lay-men secular,
And each of them, holdinge a Pillar
 In their handes instead of a mace.
Then followeth my Lord on his mule,
Trapped with gold, etc., etc., etc.

Roy's *Treatous*.

King Henry often went to dine with the Cardinal. On occasions of that sort great preparations were made for his enjoyment, and a most lavish supply of food was provided. Musicians, both vocal and instrumental, contributed towards the entertainment, and 'there wanted no dames or damsels, meet or apt to dance with the maskers, or to garnish the place for a time with other goodly disports.'

And sometimes, apparently, the King would come unawares, in the spirit of sport, to a banquet or revel. Then he would enjoy himself right royally, intrigue and dance, and meet perhaps an Anne Boleyn before the time came to unmask himself and to stand confessed the King. For Cavendish tells us that he had seen his Majesty 'suddenly come in thither in a mask, with a dozen of other maskers, all in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth-of-gold and fine crimson satin . . . and caps of the same, with visors of good proportion of visnomy, their hairs and beards either fine gold wire or else of silver, and some being of black silk ; having sixteen torch bearers, besides their drums, and other persons attending upon them with visors, and clothed all in satin of the same colours.'

Whitehall was the scene of Wolsey's triumphs ; it was also the scene where he bade adieu to 'all his greatness.' At his fall, in 1529, he was commanded to deliver up his seals of office to the Duke

of Suffolk, his goods were confiscated, and, quitting the Palace, he retired to Esher. After his disgrace, 'York Place,' otherwise 'Whitehall,' and all its glories, were seized upon by the King. The great Cardinal died shortly afterwards, in circumstances too well known to call for repetition in these pages.



SIR JOHN VANBURGH.

(From a Mezzotint in the British Museum, after a Portrait painted by J. Richardson in 1715.)

CHAPTER XIV

SITE OF THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

THERE is a story told of the late Lord Beaconsfield, which, whether it be apocryphal or not, is well worth repeating at the outset of the present discussion. One of his supporters, it is said, once asked him to give a word of advice to his boy. The statesman groaned, but consented. 'My young friend,' he said, in his most impressive manner, to the lad, 'your father has asked me to give you some advice which may be of service to you all your life. Never, then, ask who wrote the "Letters of Junius," or on which side of Whitehall Charles I. was beheaded. For, if you do, you will be considered a bore—and that is something too dreadful for you at your tender age to understand.'

In spite of the advice of that great wit, these questions have never been allowed to lie dormant. Only a few years ago the site of the execution of King Charles the First was once more the subject of prolonged controversy in the papers, and in the course of that controversy many writers engaged with natural enjoyment in pointing out the mistakes

of others. The spot at which King Charles emerged from the Banqueting House was, it was shown once more, a source of much grievous error ; for some writers asserted that the Royal Martyr passed through a particular window of that building, whilst others maintained that certain portions of its brickwork were removed in order to allow of his passage.

Where doctors disagree it is, we know, difficult to decide ; but again, in spite of Lord Beaconsfield's warning, we shall endeavour at any rate to place before our readers the evidence on which they disagree, and to emphasise the view which appeals to us as most probable.

Of the several points of detail in dispute we shall deal first with the position of the scaffold upon which the King was beheaded.

Sir Reginald Palgrave,¹ an eminent authority upon the subject, has quoted written evidence which, so far as is known, had hitherto been unpublished. The late Mr. Thoms, Librarian to the House of Lords, and the founder and editor of 'Notes and Queries,' was Sir Reginald's informant, and he told him that some years previously he had been shown a stone which had been placed in the ground in front of the Banqueting House in order to mark the site of King Charles's execution. This evidence is corroborated by Mr. Hugh Owen, who

¹ Sir Reginald discussed this subject at length in an article he contributed to the *Architectural Review*.



*Princess Elizabeth,
daughter of Charles I,
from a miniature at Windsor Castle.*

says that he also, as late as the year 1831, when arriving in London, was taken to see this very same stone, which was, he said, 'under either the second or third window of Whitehall next to Charing Cross. . . . My memory inclines most to the second window.' So much for the evidence of modern tradition.

We shall now examine the writings of well-known men of the time, with the object of testing the correctness of this evidence.

All the prints of the execution, published at the time, show that the scaffold upon which the King was beheaded was erected in front, and not at the end, of the Banqueting House. The warrant—and this is an important point to notice—prescribes that the King should be beheaded in 'the open street before Whitehall.' In other words, the execution was decreed to take place, and therefore *a priori* we might assume *did* take place, in the wide open space between the Banqueting House and the Tilt-yard through which the public traffic took its course between Westminster and Charing Cross. And in that natural assumption we are borne out by the evidence of contemporary witnesses. For whatever doubt may exist as to the particular window in front of which the scaffold was erected, we have it on the strength of the records left us, both by Lord Leicester and Dugdale, that that structure faced the Horse Guards and the Park. Does not the former assert, in his 'Journal,' that the King

was 'beheaded at Whitehall Gate,' and the latter, in his 'Diary,' that he was 'beheaded at the Gate of Whitehall'?

'The King,' writes Leicester,

was accompanied by Bishop Juxon, Col. Tomlinson, and other officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private guard of Partisans with Musqueteers on each syde, through the Banquetting House, adjoining to which the scaffold was erected, between Whitehall Gate and the gallery leading to St. Jameses.

Such a sacrifice they really made him upon the Tuesday following (which was the thirtieth of January) having (the more to effront and defeat him had it been possible) built a scaffold for his murther before the Great Gate of Whitehall, whereunto they fixed several staples of iron, and prepared cords to tye him down to the block had he made any resistance to that cruel and bloody stroke.¹

Warwick, again, says that the King 'came out of the Banqueting House on the scaffold;' whilst, in a pamphlet published at the time, and entitled 'King Charles his Speech,' the statement occurs that his Majesty 'came through the Banqueting House, adjoining to which the scaffold was erected, between Whitehall Gate and the gate leading into the gallery from St. James's.'² And, if this is not enough, there may be seen at the British Museum a single sheet of the day, which also states that 'the King was beheaded at Whitehall Gate.'

The precise position of the scaffold with reference to Whitehall it is more difficult to determine. Dean

¹ *Journal of Earl of Leicester* (Sydney Papers), p. 59.

² Quoted by Mr Wyatt Papworth in *Notes and Queries*.

Stanley's view, as recorded by the late Lord Carnarvon in a letter to the 'Times,' May 12, 1890, was that 'a wooden passage was erected along the face of the "banqueting house" of Whitehall—that the King, who had that same morning been brought across the Park to Whitehall, was led out through a window, which had been cut down at the east end of the building for that purpose : that he had passed along the wooden passage, and was beheaded on the scaffold *in front of the middle window. . . .*'

On the whole, Mr. Hugh Owen's statement that the scaffold was placed under the second or third window, and that the second window seemed the more probable, would appear to be correct. Correct, too, so far as it goes, is his other statement, that a passage to admit the King to the scaffold had been made by piercing the wall. For as to the fact that a passage of some sort was broken through some wall we are left in little doubt by Sir Thomas Herbert, who, it will be remembered, attended the King in his last moments, and to whom Charles on his way to execution presented his watch. 'The King,' he records in his touching 'Memoirs,'¹ 'was led along all the galleries and Banqueting House, and there was a passage broken through the wall, by which the King passed unto the scaffold.'

The question which arises is, through which wall was the passage broken? 'This passage,' says

¹ Sir T. Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 135.

Pennant, 'still remains at the north end of the room, and is at present the door to a small additional building.' That we believe to be the true statement of the case. But assuming for a moment that the passage was, as many have maintained, cut in the western outer wall of the Banqueting House, as a means of direct egress to the scaffold, one or two difficulties suggest themselves, with which it may be as well to deal at once. Why, in that case, it might be asked, was the wall broken through at all? Why was not the King taken through one of the windows? A moment's reflection will reveal the fact that there was a good reason for not using any of the windows of the Banqueting House facing west. For if one of the lower windows had been used for the purpose the scaffold would have been almost level with the heads of the crowd, and that might have been the cause of considerable danger in several ways. Again, there were at that time no glazed windows overlooking the street of Whitehall, or what was called the western front; all of them were built up, and in this condition the lowest tier remained till the year 1895. But even if the upper windows had been glazed, they were far too high up to be of use for the purpose of approaching the scaffold. 'The lowest tier of windows,' says Loftie, 'was only glazed in our day; those of the middle story, the Ionic story, were still unglazed in 1649.' The same author adds that, in Sylvestre's view, taken about fifty years after the death of Charles I.,

there were not any glazed windows at all on the west front of the hall, and that all the 'apparent openings' were filled in with bricks and with stucco. The lower windows, then, were too low to be used with safety ; the upper windows were too high to be used with convenience. And none of them as yet was glazed. Other means, therefore, of arriving at the scaffold had to be devised.

Another slight difficulty has occurred to some minds, and given pause. How, it is asked, did his Majesty make the ascent necessary to place him on a level with the scaffold? The answer is, that the King reached the level of the aperture—whatever it was—through which he was destined to approach the scaffold by means of the galleries within. This point, which is indicated in the passage from Sir Thomas Herbert's 'Memoirs,' which have been quoted above, need cause no surprise. Mr. Wyatt Papworth, indeed, writing in 'Notes and Queries' (Third Series, vol. iii. 1863), puts this question: 'I was about to inquire if the Banqueting House was fitted up originally with the gallery, or when it was introduced, as it appears curious that the King should have ascended inside the building when the few steps would have been so easily made outside of it.' His query, however, is answered in Cunningham (551) 'in an extract from a little-known roll, dated 1633, describing the building and its expenses.' The extract is as follows: 'With a

gallery upon the two sides, and the lower end borne upon great cartoozes of timber carved.'

There are now two questions which remain to be considered. Through which window, if window at all, did King Charles approach the scaffold? and through which wall was it that a passage was broken on this occasion? Ludlow says, in his 'Memoirs,' that Charles was 'conducted to the scaffold *out of the window* of the Banqueting House.' At first sight this would seem to be confirmed by the following memorandum of Vertue's on the copy of Terra-son's large engraving of the Banqueting House, preserved in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries :—

'Tis, according to the truest reports, said that out of this window, King Charles went upon the scaffold to be beheaded: the window-frame being taken out purposely to make the passage on to the scaffold, which is equal to the landing place of the hall, within side.

But the window referred to by Vertue *was part of a small building abutting from the north side of the present* Banqueting House, and it was from this very window that the King stepped on to the scaffold. This is the view entertained by Sir R. Palgrave.

Other views and some interesting evidence may be gleaned from the letters of two correspondents in 'Notes and Queries.'

Mr. Wyatt Papworth, to whom we have already alluded refers to the Grand Duke Cosmo's noticing

drops of the King's blood 'on the threshold of the window' at Whitehall, which were not erased when he visited England in 1669. But he does not mention which was the particular window.¹

'A. A.,' writing to 'Notes and Queries' on April 11, 1863, states that there are eight plates, in the Library of Windsor Castle, of the 'Place and Execution of Charles I.,' and that all these prints show the execution as having taken place at Whitehall. This, he further considers, satisfactorily disposes of the tradition 'that the finger of the statue of James II., *behind* the Banqueting House, is pointing to the spot where King Charles, his father, was executed.' 'A. A.' then proceeds to describe the prints in order, as follows :—

No. 1.—Has the inscription in English, and shows the scaffold at the upper or north-west window of the Banqueting House.

No. 2.—Is a small print. Inscription in Dutch. View looking towards Holbein's Gate, by Picart. Scaffold as before.

No. 3.—French inscription. Evidently copied from the same plate.

No. 4.—Ditto.

No. 5.—Dutch inscription. Larger plate. Scaffold represented much larger, and extending from last window (nearest Westminster) but one, across the space of four windows: that is, it covers the distance from the third window (reckoning from north to south) to the sixth window, both inclusive.

No. 6.—Same as above.

¹ *Notes and Queries*, Third Series, vol. iii. (1863).

No. 7.—Same as above, but another plate.

No. 8.—The heading of a broadside. The scaffold represented as in the last four.

Thus, singular to state ('A. A.' continues), half the prints represent it in one position, and half in the other. We, however, I think, gain this fact—it certainly was in front and not at the back of the Banqueting House. Many old prints represent a door at the north-west corner, leading apparently into a low porch, only one story high. Over this is a window, like a staircase window. All this has been altered since the fire. It is said traditionally the King came out of this window, and ascended the scaffold from the leads of the porch. If this were so, it must have reached the north-west corner. But, if the prints No. 5 and No. 8 are correct, the scaffold could not have extended to within fifty feet of this corner; and then, of course, the obvious way to get upon it must have been through one of the windows. The fact recorded by Jesse, that the brick-work and stone-work of the centre window of the *upper* range had been cut away and replaced, could have nothing to do with this question: for they are above forty feet from the paving, and the scaffold is shown as not twice the height of a man above the street.

Writing a few months later, Mr. Papworth puts this question to 'A. A.' in 'Notes and Queries':—
'May I ask "A. A.," on his next visit to Windsor Castle, to see if he can identify the window in the first four plates to which he refers by the following statement, "which is dated from Whitehall, April 20, 1813," which, it seems, formed part of a letter from Mr. George Chalmers to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., and which is preserved in the British Museum'? The words in italics will draw attention to the point in question:—

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Right Revd and Honble.—This day, about two of the clock in the afternoon, *His Majesty was brought out, at the window of the balcony of the Banqueting House of Whitehall near which a stage was set up*, and his head struck off with an axe, wherewith we hold it our duty to inform you : and so, being in haste we shall say no more at this time but that we remain

Your most aff. friends to serve you,

LOTHIAN.

JO : CHAISELIE.

RO : BLAIR.

Covent Garden, 30 Jan., 1648.

For the Right Revd the Commissioners of the
Kirk of Scotland met at Edinburgh.

Considering that this historical letter was an authority (Mr. Papworth continues), and having lately tried to identify this window by the letter, I arrived at a singular result. I looked at all the prints in the Cole's Pennant Collection ; not even the print therein after Hollar's drawing, in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, stated to be of the early part of the reign of Charles I., affords any clue to a solution ; but it shows that the small projection on the north side was then in existence. The question is, Which is the balcony ? Was the term given to those small projecting balustrades to the three middle windows of the first floor ? But why the 'window of the balcony,' and not 'the centre window' or the 'end window' ? Wishing to explain to a friend the difficulty, I opened 'London and its Environs described,' and, turning up the small plate showing the Banqueting House, we were surprised to find that the window on each side of the centre window of the lower range is represented a *blank* one : that is, they are both filled in with stone work. It is drawn by Samuel Wall (afterwards R.A.), and published in 1761. This centre window might thus be called, perhaps, 'the window of the balcony.' Not having before noticed this peculiarity of

the façade in the prints, I looked at the engravings in the King's Collection: the result is that Spilbergh's fine and large print of 1683, like most other illustrations of this building, shows all windows; that a drawn plan of the first floor, made in 1796 by J. T. Groves, an architect, and also Clerk of the Works for Whitehall, shows two windows on each side of the centre window as blanks; and, still further, that T. Malton's large perspective view in 1781 shows the same two blank windows on each side. This print also gives the north projection and its two small windows, one above the other, much smaller than those of the façade, and out of which the King could not have gone, as regards height. Does not all this decide that the centre window is 'the window of the balcony,' and the one for which we are searching?

These speculations are very interesting; but, interesting as they are, we prefer to base our solution of the mystery upon the plain statement of Herbert: 'The King was led along all the galleries and Banqueting House, and there was a passage broken through the wall, by which the King passed unto the scaffold.'¹ We incline to the view that the King was executed under the second or third window of the Banqueting House, facing the Horse Guards; and that the window from which he stepped on to the scaffold was the one indicated in Vertue's engraving, a window, that is, in a small building abutting on the north side of the present Banqueting House. For we showed that the windows in the Banqueting House itself were, by reason of their height, not suitable, and, at the

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*, quoted above.

time with which we are concerned, were not open. But there were no such objections to the window in the small building adjoining the northern extremity of the Hall. It was in every way suitable—it was at the right elevation ; it was open. If it were not large enough its framework could easily be removed, and there would be no difficulty in connecting it with the scaffold, which was to be placed ‘in the open street before Whitehall.’

That the King reached the level of this window by means of the galleries within, may plainly be deduced from Herbert’s narrative. But how did he pass into this small building from the Banqueting House? Here, again, Herbert offers us an easy exercise in deduction. ‘There was a passage broken through the wall,’ he says.

As a summing up of the results, towards which the conflicting views and evidence given in this chapter tend, we cannot do better than quote the words of Sir Reginald Palgrave, who has done so much to elucidate one of the most intricate and fascinating of the minor problems of history. In a letter to the ‘Times,’ Saturday, May 17, 1890, after referring to Lord Carnarvon’s view that the scaffold should, in accordance with Dean Stanley’s view, be represented in Mr. Ernest Croft’s picture as *before the middle window* of the building, he wrote :—

That this was, in the opinion of Dean Stanley, the position of the scaffold, I am aware. . . . I maintained that the window in the west front of the Hall, second from

the northern, or Charing Cross, end of the building, was 'King Charles's window.' This is the name given to that window by the custodian of the Chapel . . . , and the late Mr. Thoms, the eminent historical engineer, assured me that he had seen in the pavement before that window a memorial stone placed there to mark the spot of the execution.

The correctness of Mr. Thoms's remembrance was confirmed by his friend, Mr. Hugh Owen, formerly chief cashier to the Great Western Railway. About ten years ago he wrote thus to Mr. Thoms :

'On the 1st May, 1831, I arrived in London as the guest of Benson Earle Hill. That afternoon, when we walked to see the Abbey (and my memory is most clear), Hill showed me in the foot pavement a stone, placed lozenge wise. It was a blue stone, most likely slate or blue lias. He told me that it marked the site of the scaffold on which Charles I. was slaughtered. The stone was under the second or the third window of Whitehall next to Charing Cross. Of this point I am a little at a loss ; but my memory inclines most to the second window as the one it marked from which the scaffold was entered.'

In that notion (continues Sir Reginald), Mr. Owen followed the general belief ; but it was not through a window in the front of the Hall that Charles passed out on to the scaffold. A small building abutted against the north end of the Banqueting Hall, which, in height and shape, corresponded closely with the Georgian structure, which contains the entrance staircase to Whitehall Chapel. From a window in the west front of that small building, in position very similar to the blank window above the present outer entrance door to the Chapel, the framework was removed and the King was led through that aperture on to the scaffold, which was carried round the front of the Hall, as far as to the second window.

The King had reached that small building thus : He entered the Banqueting Hall by an outside staircase,



VIEW OF THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL, IN 1718.

It is believed that the King, on his way to the scaffold, came out through the window above which a crown is marked.

(From an Engraving by H. Terrason in the British Museum.)

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which led up from the ground to one of the windows in its east or river side—that very staircase which, on January 23, 1657, broke down under the crowd of Parliament men who pressed up to congratulate Cromwell upon the safe conclusion of Sindercombe's assassination plot.

Having thus gained entrance, Charles walked down the length of the Banqueting Hall until he reached the north end wall, and before him was a doorway cut through the wall, giving entrance into a narrow room beyond, and then, when he stood within that room, the daylight streamed in upon him through the dismantled window-opening, and he saw the way to death. . . .

That passage way, cut January 29–30, 1648, through the north wall of the Banqueting House, has never since been closed ; it is the doorway now in use that gives access to Whitehall Chapel, a doorway surely as fateful as any in the world.¹

¹ Pennant's *London*, p. 99, and Terresson's engraving of Whitehall, marked by Vertue, in possession of the Society of Antiquaries, &c.

CHAPTER XV

THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

IN this chapter we deal with the most important event in the history of Whitehall, one of the greatest tragedies of England, a subject of perennial interest—the execution of King Charles I.

The warrant for the execution was not signed till within a few minutes before the King was led to the scaffold.

In an apartment of the Palace, Ireton and Harrison were in bed together, and Cromwell with four Colonels assembled in it. Colonel Huncks refused to sign the warrant. Cromwell would have no further delay, reproaching the Colonel as ‘a peevish cowardly fellow,’ and Colonel Axtell declared that he was ashamed for his friend Huncks, remonstrating with him that ‘the ship is coming into the harbour, and now would he strike sail before we come to anchor?’¹

Cromwell stepped to a table and wrote what he had proposed to Huncks; Colonel Hacker, supplying his place, signed it, and, with the ink hardly dry, carried the warrant in his hand, and called for the King.²

The day before his trial his Majesty was brought in a sedan chair from St. James’s Palace

¹ *Trial of the Regicides*, p. 221.

² *Life and Reign of Charles I.* (I. D’Israeli), vol. v.

to Whitehall, where he remained during the time that his trial lasted. 'His patience or insensibility was very great.'¹ 'Bradshaw, the President, gave sentence upon him to lose his head ; all the Court, to the number of sixty-seven, owing to it by standing up.'² When the trial was over the King was conveyed back to St. James's, where he passed the remaining days of his life.

On January 30, 1649, the day of his execution,³ Charles was brought, under escort, through the Park to Whitehall, some say at eight o'clock,⁴ others say at ten o'clock⁵ in the morning. He was dressed in a long black coat and grey stockings, and, as a waistcoat, is said to have worn a rich red striped silk.⁶ He had been placed under the charge of Bishop Juxon and Colonel Tomlinson, who, one on either side of him, accompanied him, bareheaded, 'His Majesty walking very fast and bidding them go faster,'⁷ adding that 'he now went before them to strive for a heavenly crown with less sollicitude than he had often encouraged his soldiers to fight for an earthly diadem.'

¹ *Life of Charles I.* William Harris.

² *Coke's Court of England*, i. 412.

³ In regard to this word 'execution,' Dr. William Smith writes : 'The word implies legality, and cannot be applied to the sacrilegious putting to death of a sovereign by his rebellious subjects.'

⁴ *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, Lieut.-General of the Horse in the Army of the Commonwealth. 1625-1672.

⁵ *Life of Charles I.* William Harris, 1772.

⁶ Of my *Memorials of St. James's Palace*.

⁷ *Life of Charles I.* William Harris, 1772.

Upon the King's right hand went the Bishop, and Colonel Tomlinson on his left, with whom his Majesty had some discourse by the way ; Mr. Herbert was next the King, after him the Guards. In this manner went the King through the Park.¹

Upon arriving at the spot where the Scotch Office now stands the King mounted the stairs which led up across the upper story of the Holbein Gate, and thence sought his usual bedchamber, where he remained till Hacker summoned him to the scaffold. Upon reaching his bedchamber the King at once commenced his devotions, and while he was thus engaged certain ecclesiastics of the Puritan party came to his room and offered to pray with him. But he refused their offer, saying : ' They had so often prayed against him that he would not have them pray with him in his extremity.' He, however, asked them to remember him in their prayers.

Upon rising from his knees Charles said : ' Now let the rogues come ; I have forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo.'

Colonel Hacker came soon after to the bedchamber door and gave his last signal. The Bishop and Mr. Herbert, weeping, fell upon their knees ; and the King gave them his hand to kiss, and help'd the Bishop up, for he was aged.²

The King then gave his gold toothpick case to Colonel Tomlinson, with the request that the latter should remain with him to the end.

¹ Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoirs* (1702), p. 133.

² *Ibid.* p. 134.

Colonel Hacker attending still at the Chamber Door, the King took notice of it, and said, 'Open the door,' and bade Hacker go, he would follow. A guard was made all along the Galleries and the Banqueting House ; but, behind the soldiers, abundance of men and women crowded in, though with some peril to their persons, to behold the saddest sight England ever saw. And as his Majesty pass'd by with a chearful look, heard them pray for him, the soldiers not rebuking any of them ; by their silence and dejected faces seeming afflicted rather than insulting.¹

Some of the foregoing incidents are thus described in the ' Journal of the Earl of Leicester ' in the ' Sydney Papers ' (p. 59) :—

The King lay at Whytehall on Sunday night, on Monday night he lay at St. Jameses, and on Tuesday, 30th January, about 10 o'clock in the morning, the King was brought from St. Jameses walking on foote through the Parke, with a regiment of foote, part before and part behinde him, with coullars flying, drums beating, his private guard of Partisans, with some of his gentlemen before and some behinde, bareheaded ; Doctor Juxon next behind him, and Collonell Tomlinson (who had charge of him) talking with the King bareheaded, from the Parke up the staires into the Gallerye, and so into the Chamber where he used to lye, where he continued at his devotion, refusing to dine (having before taken the sacrament) about an hour before he came forth only, he dranke a glass of claret wine, and eat a piece of bread, about twelve at noone.

The question of the route taken by the King on his way from his apartments to the scaffold has been discussed in the previous chapter. He 'strode the floor of death,' as Fuller puts it, with a cheerful

¹ Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 134.

countenance, and when at the scaffold 'is thought to have excelled himself,' says Heath, 'and to have died much greater than he had lived.' He was attended by the Bishop and also by Harrington and Herbert, gentlemen of his bedchamber.

Upon reaching the scaffold he donned a white satin cap, and, meanwhile, asked one of his executioners (there were two of them) whether his hair was in the way. Thereupon he was asked to brush it back with his own hand, and he did so with the assistance of the Bishop, to whom he said : ' I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side.' ' There is but one stage more,' said the Bishop in reply ; ' it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you will find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.' ' I go,' said the King, ' from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be : no disturbance in the world.' ' To this,' says D'Israeli, ' the Bishop frigidly rejoined, ' You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown : a good exchange.'¹

Charles then again asked the executioner, ' Is my hair well ?' took off his long black cloak, and, giving his ' George ' to the Bishop, made use of the expression : ' Remember.'² Then, turning once more to the executioner, he addressed him thus : ' I shall say but short prayers, and when I thrust out my hands '—this sentence he repeated twice ;

¹ *Life and Reign of Charles I.* (I. D'Israeli), vol. v., 1831.

² The question as to the meaning of this phrase is discussed later on in this chapter.

then, referring to the block, he said : ' You must set it fast.' He was told that it was fast, whereupon he remarked that it might have been higher, and received as a reply that that was impossible. ' Take care,' the King added to a passer-by at the time, ' they do not put me to pain. Take heed of the axe, take heed of the axe ; hurt not the axe, which may hurt me.'

' One circumstance Charles observed with a smile. They had a notion that the King would resist the executioner ; on the suggestion of *Hugh Peters*, it is said, they had driven iron staples and ropes into the scaffold that their victim, if necessary, might be bound down upon the block.'¹ This is confirmed by Dugdale, who says that ' a scaffold was built for his murther before the Great Gate at Whitehall, whereunto they fixed several staples of iron, and prepared cords to tye him down to the block, had he made any resistance to that cruel and bloody stroke.'²

His Majesty then took off his doublet, put on his cloak again, and afterwards

made a speech (which seems much broken and confused in many places) in which he asserted his own innocency ; declared himself to be a good Christian ; shewed his auditors how they were out of the way, and proposed to put them in a way ' which was to give God His due ; the King his due (that is, says he, my successors), and the people their due ; I am as much for them as any of you.' Afterwards

¹ *Life and Reign of Charles I.* (I. D'Israeli), vol. v.

² Dugdale's *Troubles in England*, vol. iii. fol. 1681.

he said, 'I desire their liberty and freedom as much as any whomsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having of Government those laws by which this life and their goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in Government, Sirs—that is nothing pertaining to them; a subject and a sovereign are clear different things. And, therefore, untill they do that, I mean that you put the people in that liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves, Sirs. It was for this that now I am come here; if I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the Martyr of the people.'¹

Having made a declaration of his faith at the request of the Bishop, King Charles knelt down, and was about to lay his head upon the block, when one of the executioners stooped down to put his Majesty's hair under his cap, so that it should not impede the force of the blow. His Majesty misunderstood this act of the hangman's, and, thinking that the fatal blow was about to be delivered, asked the man to await the sign. There ensued another short pause, during which his Majesty spoke a few words, and then the King stretched out his hand, whereupon the Royal head was instantly severed from the body. Then, in sight of the great crowd that had gathered about the scene, the second executioner lifted up the King's head and exclaimed, 'Behold the head of a traitor.'

¹ *Life of Charles I.* By William Harris (from *King Charles's Works*), pp. 207–211.

The scene upon the scaffold is thus described in the 'Journal of the Earl of Leicester,' in the 'Sydney Papers : '—

The King, being come upon the scaffold, looked very earnestly upon the block, and asked Collonell Hacker if there were no higher, and then spake thus (directing his speech chiefly to Collonell Tomlinson, &c.):

'I declare before you all that I dye a Christian according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my father; and this honest man,' pointing to Dr. Juxon, 'I thinke will witness it,' &c. Many other things being sayd, the King layd his head down, and the executioner at one blow severed it from his body, which the second executioner held up and shewed it to the spectators.

The executioners were two, and disguised in saylors clothes with visards and peruques unknown; yet some have a conceit that he that gave the stroke was one Collonell Foxe, and the other Captain Joyce, who took the King from Holmby, but that is not beleevd. This I heard for certain, that Gregory Brandon, the common hangman of London, refused absolutely to do it, and professed that he would be shott or otherways killed rather than do it.

Charles died, says Rapin, 'with great constancy and without showing the least signs of weakness or amazement;' while, 'Thus,' says Sir Richard Warwick, 'this Saint and Martyr rested from his labours, and follows the Lamb.'¹

Immediately after the execution the crowd was dispersed by cavalry, and it was thought advisable

¹ Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 346.

that the scaffold and everything connected with it should be cleared away as soon as possible. The Bishop and Herbert 'went with the body to the backstairs,' where it was embalmed by Topham, private surgeon to Fairfax, who had previously sewed the King's head on to the body again.

Mr. Herbert during this (the execution) was at the door lamenting, and the Bishop coming thence with the Royal Corps, which was coffin'd immediately, and covered with a black velvet pall, he and Mr. Herbert went with it to the Back Stairs to be embalmed.¹

The old Puritan poet, Andrew Marvell, wrote thus of the King in his last moments :—

While round the armed bands
Did clasp their bloody hands,
 He nothing common did or mean
 Upon that memorable scene ;
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try ;
 Nor called the gods, with vulgar spite,
 To vindicate his helpless right ;
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed.

In 'Notes and Queries,' second series, vol. vi. occur the following lines, by that learned and amusing writer James Howell, the author of 'Familiar Letters on the Martyrdom of Charles I.' The lines were written a few weeks after the execution.

¹ Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 135.

So fell the Royal Oak by a wild crew
 Of mongrel shrubs, which underneath him grew ;
 So fell the Lion by a pack of curs,
 So the Rose wither'd 'twixt a knot of burrs.
 So fell the Eagle by a swarm of gnats,
 So the Whale perish'd by a shoal of sprats.

'In the Prison of the Fleet, Feb. 25, 1648.'

In the foregoing pages we have arranged in narrative form the chief facts of the tragedy. Before going on to discuss the controverted details in regard to it, we quote, from 'Notes and Queries,' two interesting accounts of the execution.

In the sixth series, vol. vii., of 'Notes and Queries,' January 1883, there occurs the following, 'written by an eye-witness of this event, viz., Philip Henry: '—

1648-9. At the later end of the year 1648 I had leave given me to goe to London to see my Father, and during my stay there at that time at Whitehal it was that I saw the beheading of King Charles the First. Hee went by our door on foot each dae that hee was carry'd by water to Westminster, for hee took Barge at Garden stayres where wee liv'd, and once hee spake to my Father and sayd 'Art thou alive yet?' On the day of his execution, which was Tuesday Jan. 30, I stood amongst the crowd in the street before Whitehal Gate where the Scaffold was erected, and saw what was done, but was not so near as to hear anything. The blow I saw given, and can truly say with a sad heart, at the instant whereof, I remember wel, there was such a grone by the thousands then present, as I never heard before and desire I may never hear again. There was, according to order, one Troop immediately marching fromwards Charing Cross to Westminster and

another fromwards Westminster to Charing Cross purposely to master the people and to disperse and scatter them, so that I had much adoe amongst the rest to escape home without hurt.¹

Mr. W. E. Buckley, who sends this account to 'Notes and Queries,' adds that Philip Henry was at that time a student of Christ Church, Oxford.

The second brief account of the execution is communicated to 'Notes and Queries' by 'S. S.,' who says:—

'The following extract purports to be a circumstantial account (printed 1660) of the execution of Charles I., and may throw some light on a doubtful question.'

Tuesday, January 30 (the fatal day). He was, about 10 of the Clock, brought from his Palace of St. James' to Whitehall, marched on foot, guarded with a regiment of foot soldiers through the Park, with their colours flying, &c. . . . Being come to the end of the Park, he ascends the Stairs, leading to the Long Gallery in Whitehall, and so into the Cabinet Chamber, where he formerly used to lodge. There, &c. . . . From thence, about 1 o'clock, he was accompanied by Dr. Juxon and Colonel Tomlinson and other officers, formerly appointed to attend him, and the private guard of Partizans with Musketeers on each side, through the Banqueting House, adjoining to which the scaffold was erected between Whitehall Gate and the Gate leading into the Gallery from St. James'. The scaffold was hung round with black, the floor covered with black bayes, and the axe and block laid in the middle of the scaffold. There were divers companies of foot, of Colonel Pride's regiment, and several troops of horse,

¹ *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry* (London, 1882), p. 12.

placed on the one side of the scaffold towards King Street. And on the other side towards Charing Cross, &c., &c., &c.

Under the heading, 'New Light on the Execution of Charles I. from Contemporary Sources,' Mr. C. H. Firth wrote, from Oxford, an article which appeared in No. 1011 of the 'Academy,' on September 19, 1891. He says:—

Under this title, Mr. G. W. Thorpe, F.S.A., has printed¹ a paper in which he calls attention to an account of the execution of Charles I., hitherto unused by historians. The pamphlet in which this account is contained is a small quarto of sixteen pages, printed throughout in red ink, entitled 'The Bloody Court: or the Fatall Tribunall,' said to be 'printed for G. Horton,' and 'published by a Rural Pen for general satisfaction.' It is not dated; but Mr. Thorpe concludes, from internal evidence, that it must have been written some two months only after the King's execution. The author, who professes to have been an eye-witness, he believes to have been Admiral Sir William Penn, whose identity he considers 'half revealed' by the pseudonym adopted by the writer. According to Mr. Thorpe, the account in the Pamphlet contains 'hitherto overlooked facts of the highest value,' and 'new and touching details' of the King's trial and execution. . . . Almost the whole of this 'Bloody Court,' thirteen pages in all, is taken almost verbatim from another tract. The title of that tract runs as follows:—*το ξειφος των μαρτυρων*, or a 'Brief Narration of the Mysteries of State, carried on by the Spanish Faction in England, &c. Together with a vindication of the Presbyterian party. Printed by Samuel Brown, English Bookseller at the Hague, 1651.'²

¹ Vide *Antiquary Magazine* (1891), vol. xxiii.

² The British Museum copy is dated by Thomason July 10, 1651.

A close examination of the title-page of the 'Bloody Court' renders it more certain it was published after the Restoration.

This title-page is made up of phrases strung together from another pamphlet called

'Cromwell's bloody slaughter-house, or the Damnable designes laid and practised by him and his negros in contriving the murther of his sacred Majesty King Charles I. Discovered by a person of Honour. London, printed for James Davis; and are to be sold at the Grey-hound in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1660.'

The author of this pamphlet was Dr. John Gauden, who reprinted it in 1661, with his name attached to it, under the new title of

'A just invective against those of the Army and their abettors, who murdered King Charles I. on the 30 Jan., 1648.'

Taking these facts together, the date, the purpose, and the value of the red pamphlet becomes perfectly clear. It was published in the summer or early autumn of 1660. As its object was to excite popular feeling against the Regicides, it was pretty certainly published before their trials in October 1660. The title-page is clearly Gauden's own work, and it is probable that the account of the King's execution given in the body of the pamphlet is also by him. The earlier pamphlet from which it was derived, 'The brief narration' published in 1651, does not, as a whole, seem to have been written by him; but he may very well have contributed to it the particular portion which he thought worthy of republication in 1660. In any case, the red pamphlet is not a contemporary authority, but a later compilation; and the account of the King's execution was not written till more than two years after his death. If, as I believe, both title-page and pamphlet were written by Gauden, no statement contained in it can be received without independent confirmation.

It is now time to deal with some of the debatable points in connection with the tragedy. One of the most interesting of these is the meaning to be attached to the word 'Remember,' which King Charles, when upon the scaffold, addressed to Bishop Juxon, after having handed to his Lordship his medallion of St. George.

Now, in the first place, a few words as to the George itself may, perhaps, not be amiss. We have it on the best possible authority—that of Herbert—that when the King gave away such other jewellery as he had to his two children, he retained this alone, and that he handed it to Bishop Juxon with the word 'Remember,' is recorded in a book entitled '*Tragicum Theatrum*,' published at Amsterdam in 1649, and by Bulstrode Whitelocke, whose '*Memo-rials*' were not published till some years after his death in 1676. Whitelocke may well have received information on the point from Hacker or Tomlinson, but Sir Philip Warwick, on the other hand, whose knowledge was derived from Bishop Juxon himself, does not mention the George at all. The ornament itself Herbert describes as 'cut in an onyx with great curiosity, and set about with twenty-one fair diamonds, and the reverse with the like number.' This description should help us to identify it, and to trace it in its subsequent career. For though the rules of the Order of the Garter forbade the increased enrichment of the collar with stones and so forth, they permitted the image to be

enriched at the pleasure of the Knight. The George, then, as described by Herbert, is recognisable as the same with that worn by the King in Van Dyck's great equestrian portrait at Hampton Court, and the same with that worn, likewise on the hip at the end of the ribbon, by James II., in a picture in the National Portrait Gallery, and by the Chevalier St. George in the picture in the same gallery. Otherwise the history of its chequered career is obscure. There is a reference made to it apparently by Madame de Sévigné (February 1689), who wrote to her daughter that the King of England had conferred on M. de Lauzun the Order of the Garter, presenting him with a 'Saint George which comes from his father, the late King, and is enriched with diamonds, worth quite ten thousand crowns;' and there is a reference to it in a letter written from Rome, in December 1785, in which Prince Charlie is described as continually wearing it. 'It is interesting,' the writer adds, 'from being the one King Charles had on when he was beheaded, and that he desired to be sent to his son.' It seems, then, after Prince Charles's death, to have fallen into the hands of the Duchess of Albany, and it is mentioned as having been in the possession of the Marquis Wellesley. After his death, in 1842, it came apparently into the possession of the Royal Family, for an 'Onyx George of Charles I.' was lent by Queen Victoria to the Stuart Exhibition in 1889, and this was recognised by a writer in the 'Times' as the very ornament

which Charles wears in Van Dyck's picture. But all the jewels have been removed. Such, so far as we can make out, is the history of this interesting relic. The steps in its career are obscure, and no new light is likely to be thrown upon them. Our information on the subject has in great part been derived from the labours of Mr. W. R. Lluellyn, of whose published letters in 'Notes and Queries,' and courteous private communications, we have very freely availed ourselves.

We may turn now to the vexed question of the meaning of the injunction 'Remember,' which the King addressed to Bishop Juxon after giving him this jewel. From the fact that it contained a portrait of Henrietta, it has been suggested that Charles used the word in reference to her. Thus, Miss Strickland, in her 'Lives of the Queens of England' (vol. v. p. 382), after stating that the King handed to the Bishop the medallion containing the miniature of Henrietta, says, 'The warning word, which has caused many historical surmises, evidently referred to the fact that he only had parted with the portrait of his beloved wife at the last moment of his existence.'

In the eighth series of 'Notes and Queries,' May 1894, the following appears over the signature William Norman:—

In a quaint little book, called 'Medulla Historiæ Anglicanæ,' printed in London in 1694, the lives and affairs of the Stuart Kings, 1603–1688, occupy about one half of the

work. With reference to the speech with which the King is said to have accompanied the George, the following account is given :

‘Then the King asked the Executioner, “Is my hair well?” And taking off his cloak and George he delivered his George to the Bishop, saying, “Remember (’twas said) to send it to the Prince.”’

This seems to be a new suggestion, and is, if it were intended to remind the Bishop of some last message the King wished to have carefully delivered to his heir, a very likely thing to have happened under the peculiar circumstances.

‘A. B. G.,’ who discusses the subject at some length in the same series of ‘Notes and Queries,’ makes the interesting suggestion ‘that Charles referred to the solemn deed of gift he had made of the alienated Church property which was in the Crown’s possession.’ It is quite possible that the King, who was a man of deep religious convictions and a staunch churchman, may have contemplated the idea of restoring to the Church her old possessions ; but the above explanation is of course a mere hypothesis.

‘A. B. G.’ sends another communication upon this subject to ‘Notes and Queries,’ which is so interesting that we quote it in full.

Charles I. and Bp. Juxon (8th S. v. 143, 208, 210, 271, 391 ; vi. 158). The following notice of this incident is remarkable on several accounts. It was published in 1660, so appears to be the earliest printed account. Alexander More was employed by Charles II., when in exile, to answer

Milton's magnificent 'Defence of the People of England.' His account may therefore be considered as approved, if not supplied, by the King himself, and is, I believe, the only one so authorised. Milton, however, evidently does not accept it, and his sources of official information were of the highest. The following extract is from the 'Second Defence' which Milton wrote in answer to More :¹—

'You say that on the fatal scaffold, the King was heard twice to sigh out to the Bishop of London, "Remember, remember." The judges were all in anxiety to know what the words so emphatically repeated, meant ; the Bishop, according to your account, was sent for, and with a menace ordered to declare to what the reiterated admonition might allude. He, at first, with a preconcerted dissimulation, pleaded his sense of delicacy, and refused to divulge the secret. When they became more impatient he at last disclosed, as if by constraint and under the influence of fear, what he would not for the world have had unknown. "The King," said he, "ordered me, if I could gain access to his son, to inform him that it was the last injunction of his dying father, that, if he were ever restored to his power and crown, he should pardon you, the authors of his death. This was what his Majesty again and again commanded me to remember." Which shall I say ? That the King discovered most piety, or the Bishop most deceit ; who, with so little difficulty, consented to disclose a secret, which, on the very scaffold, was so mysteriously entrusted to him, for the purpose of disclosure ? "But O, model of taciturnity," Charles had long since left this injunction, among others, to his son, in his "Icon Basilicon," a book which was evidently written for this express purpose, that this secret, which had been so ostentatiously enveloped in obscurity, might be divulged with the utmost dispatch, and circulated with the utmost diligence.'

¹ See 'St. John,' *Milton's Prose Works* (Bohn, 1848), vol. i. pp. 272, 273.

Milton further adds :—

You tricked out this fiction, and embellished it with the effusions of sensibility, in order to entrap the attention of the populace. But though I do not deny but that one or two of the commissioners might perhaps have briefly interrogated the Bishop on the subject, I do not find that he was either purposely called before them, or deliberately and scrupulously interrogated, as if it were a matter of their general solicitude and care.

Of Charles II. Milton remarks :—

Has he not, indeed, more than once openly declared in his public memorials that nothing should induce him to pardon the murderers of his father? Consider, therefore, whether this narrative of yours be likely to be true, which the more it commends the father reviles the son

Milton, as an authority in this matter, is immeasurably superior to the Scotch minister in respect to learning, talents, character, and sources of information. So this can hardly be the solution.—A. B. G.

Mr. Gardiner, the distinguished historian, thinks that the King addressed the word to the Bishop probably to impress on him the importance of delivering the messages to the Prince and others with which he had already charged him.

Another disputed point in connection with the tragedy is the identity of the two men who took part in Charles's execution. We know that they donned 'vizards,' wore false hair, and were dressed as sailors; they were thus effectually disguised.

Immediately after the Restoration, the Government made an effort to discover the masked headsmen; but we do not learn that they ever succeeded. William Lilley, the famous astrologer, having dropped a hint that he knew something on the subject, was examined before a Parliamentary Committee at that time, and gave the following information:—

‘The next Sunday but one,’ he says, ‘after Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, Secretary unto Lieutenant-General Cromwell, invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony Peirson and several others along with him to dinner. Their principal discourse all dinner time was only who it was that beheaded the King. One said it was the common hangman, another Hugh Peters; others were nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, so soon as dinner was done, took me to the south window. Saith he, “These are all mistaken: they have not named the man that did the fact: it was Lieutenant-Colonel Joyce. I was in the room when he fitted himself for the work—stood behind him, when he did it—when done, went in again with him. There’s no man knows this but my master (viz. Cromwell), Commissary Ireton, and myself.” “Doth not Mr. Rushworth know it?” said I. “No, he doth not,” saith Spavin. The same thing Spavin since had often related to me, when we were alone. Mr. Prynne did, with much civility, make a report hereof in the house.’¹

Some historians think that the blow was struck by a Captain Foxley; the public executioner, Richard Brandon, having refused to perform the task. We hear also that a certain Henry Porter was charged with the act. He had been imprisoned in Dublin for two years when² Lord Ormonde and the Council of

¹ Lilley's *History of his Life and Times* (edit. 1715) p. 89.

² April 29, 1663.

Ireland requested Secretary Bennet 'to move his Majesty' (Charles II.) that the said Porter, 'standing charged as being the person by whose hand the head of our late Sovereign King Charles the First was cutt off . . .' 'should be brought to trial in England.'

Tradition, again, has attributed the deed to one William Walker, who died near Sheffield, in 1700, after having retired from political life at the Restoration. The tradition rests on no substantial foundation. Nor does the vague evidence of Colonel Hacker help us much. This Colonel Hacker had for a time in his possession the original warrant for the execution. He (so we learn from a communication in 'Notes and Queries'), when he was asked who struck the blow, replied that he knew not ; but that he had heard it was the 'Major.' He said, however, that he would endeavour to ascertain. But whether he ever did so, or who the said 'Major' was, we are unable to state.

But, in spite of the foregoing evidence, which, indeed, amounts to little more than the idle gossip likely to spring up on such a subject, the probability is that the King was beheaded by the ordinary executioner, Richard Brandon.

Elsewhere we find,

He (Brandon) likewise confessed that he had thirty pounds for his pains, all paid him in half-crowns within an hour after the blow was given ; and that he had an orange stuck full of cloves, and a hankerchief out of the King's pocket, so soon as he was carried off from the scaffold, for which orange he

was proffered twenty shillings by a gentleman in Whitehall, but refused the same, and afterwards sold it for ten shillings in Rosemary Lane.¹

When, after the Restoration, an attempt was made to fix the guilt on one William Hulett, the following evidence was given in his defence, and there is much reason to believe that it states the truth.

‘When my Lord Capell, Duke Hamilton, and the Earl of Holland were beheaded in the Palace Yard, Westminster (soon after the King), my Lord Capell asked the common hangman, ‘Did you cut off my master’s head?’ ‘Yes,’ said he. ‘Where is the instrument that did it?’ He then brought the axe. ‘Is this the same axe? Are you sure?’ said my Lord. ‘Yes, my Lord,’ saith the hangman, ‘I am very sure it is the same.’ My Lord Capell took the axe and kissed it, and gave him five pieces of gold. I heard him say, ‘Sirrah, wert thou not afraid?’ Saith the hangman, ‘They made me cut it off, and I had thirty pounds for my pains.’²

Mr. Jesse, gathering his information from Cunningham’s ‘Handbook of London’ (art. ‘Rosemary Lane’), gives us some interesting details concerning this man, Richard Brandon, who resided in Rosemary Lane, and about whom the following entry

¹ *The Confession of Richard Brandon, the Hangman*. 1649. Ellis’s *Original Letters* (second series), iii. 342. Wraxall’s *Memoirs*, ii. 188.

² Haydn’s *Book of Days*, January 30. Minutes of the trial and conviction of this William Hulett or Howlett are to be found in ‘An Exact and Most Impartial Account of the Indictment, Arraignment, Trial, and Judgment (according to Law) of Twenty-nine Regicides, &c.’ 1660.

appears in the Burial Register of the Parish of St. Mary, Whitechapel :—

1649. *June 21st*: Richard Brandon, a man out of Rosemary Lane; to which the following is added:

‘This Richard Brandon is supposed to have cut off the head of Charles the First.’

Elsewhere we find :—

‘He (Brandon) likewise confessed that he had thirty pounds for his pains, all paid him in half-crowns within an hour after the blow was given; and that he had an orange stuck full of cloves, and a handkerchief out of the King’s pocket, so soon as he was carried off from the scaffold, for which orange he was proffered twenty shillings by a gentleman in Whitehall, but refused the same, and afterwards sold it for ten shillings in Rosemary Lane.’¹

In regard to the block and the mode of execution, ‘S. M. S.’ sends the following to ‘Notes and Queries’:—

A note worthy the attention and the investigation of any interested in the subject of the execution of Charles I. is given in E. Warburton’s ‘History of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers’ (vol. iii. p. 400), where it is stated that ‘The block was so low,’ says Warburton, ‘the King was forced to lie on the ground. I have seen two prints of the time in which the King is thus represented. This has not, I think, been generally noticed.’

In the year 1892 a correspondence took place in the ‘Times’ respecting this subject, namely, the method of execution adopted in the case of Charles I. Mr. (now Sir) Reginald Palgrave wrote as follows :—

¹ *The Confession of Richard Brandon, the Hangman. 1649. Ellis’s Original Letters* (second series), iii. 342. *Wraxall’s Memoirs*, ii. 188.

Did King Charles at the last moment kneel down and bend his head over the block, retaining in other respects an upright position? On the contrary, I venture to assert that, to receive the headsman's blow, the King first knelt down and then stretched himself at full length upon the scaffold and rested his back across a bar of wood in height about six inches. . . . It was the customary practice, and the scaffold was prepared to afford the sufferer some comfort in that wretched position.

Mr. Palgrave then goes on to say that this is shown by the description of the deaths of the Duke of Somerset (January 22, 1552) and Lady Jane Grey.¹

An endeavour shall now be made (he continues) to show that the execution of Charles I. was carried out in conformity with what I may call the Tudor method, which compelled the sufferer to lie at full length upon the scaffold. And at the outset of this task I must admit that in this contention I can derive no help from any contemporary account of the King's demeanour on the occasion; all that we are told is that 'stooping down, he laid his neck upon the block.'

Nor does any recorded statement directly contradict the traditional idea of the scene, reflected from the contemporary prints of the event, which places Charles upon his knees, bending over a block fitted for the purpose, *i.e.* in height between two and three feet, and in breadth about a foot and a half.

Those prints, made mostly in Holland, are, I venture to assert, in this respect, misleading, because such a block consisting of a solid conspicuous mass of wood, in height much exceeding the breadth, differs wholly from the block which, according to the following evidence, stood upon the scaffold of January 30, 1649. The 'Moderate Intelligencer,' dated February 1, 1648-9, describes the execution scene

¹ *State Trials*, i. 526, 726.

on the information, presumably, of an eye-witness; and these were his words: 'The scaffold was laid with black bays, also a rail about it: the block a little piece of wood flat at bottom: about a foot and a half long.' Had the pictorial block stood before our eye-witness, he must have noticed its height and bulk. On the contrary, the height of the block did not come within his observation; it was the length which caught his attention. Nor would he have described the pictorial block as 'a little piece of wood.'

Thus it seems certain that the block placed before King Charles was a bar of wood, and that to place the neck across such a bar of wood retaining a kneeling posture was physically impossible. Assuredly also, had the block differed in any way from the customary shape, or had the King's attitude, when he received the death-blow, been in any way unusual, such circumstances would have been recorded. The uniform brevity in the accounts given of his death, proves that the beheading was according to the wonted fashion.

That being the case, the King must have yielded himself to the executioner by extending himself at full length upon the scaffold. Two men who shared his fate, tried by the tribunal which had condemned him, were beheaded within six weeks after January 30, 1649—the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Capell—and the Duke, having 'observed how he should lay his body . . . stretched himself upon the ground' to receive the axe blow, and Lord Capell, for the same object, 'laid himself down.' And on the title-page of a 'broadside' published within a fortnight of the event, an 'Obsequies on that perfect pattern of true prowess, Arthur, Lord Capell,' is a print representing the headsman, axe in hand, and below him lies a man stretched out with his neck barely raised above the planking of the scaffold 'by a little piece of wood.'¹

Surely the King and his followers in like manner met death upon the scaffold.

¹ *State Trials*, IV., i. 194, 1220. *King's Pamphlets*, 669, f. 14, 92.

To this letter the late Lord Carnarvon, on May 12, 1890, wrote the following reply, which also appeared in the 'Times':—

With your permission, I desire to offer a few observations on Mr. Palgrave's remarkable theory of the mode of execution adopted in the case of Charles I., a theory apparently based upon the doubtful use of the word 'lying' in two or three instances.

I confess that, without further evidence, I cannot accept his view that the historical 'block' was a low rail six inches high, and that the kneeling and dignified attitude of the Martyr King in his last moments was the grovelling position which he describes. Even the Puritan poet did not do him this dishonour, when he wrote the noble lines :

He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene ;
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try ;
Nor called the gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right ;
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed ;

unless, indeed, as I cannot suppose, Mr. Palgrave is prepared to convert this fine simile into a most prosaic statement of fact.

In the Stuart and Georgian reigns down to 1745, I imagine the block to have been what the word indicates; and in the Tudor times, of which Mr. Palgrave speaks, more evidence is needed than any which has been given to show that the practice was different. There used to be—there probably still is—preserved in the Tower a hideous block of a considerable size and height, on which it was said that the 'swan neck' of Anne Boleyn was laid, and on which many other noble victims perished. . . . In the memorable case of Charles I., there is a curious account of

the execution, which, whether true or false, deserves to be cited. It is to be found in one of those interesting reports which the Venetian envoys, accredited to England, made to the Senate of Venice of all matters of note. In 1654 . . . the Venetian State sent an embassy to this country ; and, in 1656, the then ambassador, Giovanni Sagredo, laid before them a report of the Great Rebellion, its causes and results, and the character of the Protectorate. . . . 'The scaffold,' he says, 'was raised level with a window of the Palace, and hung with black velvet. And because they were afraid his Majesty might resist the execution of the sentence, and might refuse to lay his neck on the block, two iron rings were fastened to the foot of the scaffold, through which a cord was passed, to be placed round his Majesty's neck, and so to compel him to extend his neck to the axe, should he refuse to bow to the fatal blow.' He adds that the King, warned in time, agreed to yield to the law of necessity, and 'died with constancy.' This account, so far as it goes, neither impairs nor confirms Mr. Palgrave's theory.

On the day after the above letter from Lord Carnarvon had appeared in the 'Times,' came one from Lord Rosebery, dated Tuesday, May 13, 1890 :—

. . . I have a picture in Scotland of the execution, painted by an eye-witness. He was a Dutchman, who left England immediately afterwards, declaring that he could not live in a country which had killed its king.

The painting represents the King in the attitude suggested by Mr. Palgrave. The head has just been cut off, and is being held up by an executioner, who is in a mask, resembling human features, not a black mask. In each corner are medallions—one a portrait of Charles ; one a portrait of Lord Fairfax (whom, as Commander-in-Chief, the foreigner took to be an arch-regicide) holding an axe ;

one of the King walking to Whitehall, and one of the people dipping their handkerchiefs in his blood.

In the 'Tragicum Theatrum,' published at Amsterdam in 1649, there is a folding plate, evidently by the same artist, which represents the King in this kneeling—not upright—attitude. The words of the letterpress give the same evidence :—

'Aliquot postea verbis prolatis, manibusque et oculis in cœlum elatis, subito genua flexit, et *collo in truncum procubuit*, lictorem tamen monens, ut signum expectaret, qui se hoc facturum aiebat.'

At the same time, Mr. J. T. Swift MacNeill, M.P., made the following communication, which appeared side by side with that of Lord Rosebery :—

In support of the contention that Charles I. was executed in a kneeling position, it may interest your readers to know that Mr. W. M. Edmunds, of Walmer, Kent, has in his possession a footstool on which it is said the King actually knelt to receive the fatal blow. . . . If it be genuine, and there is no reason to doubt, the position in which Charles died is a matter of certainty.

On May 13, 1890, Lord Gage wrote a letter to say that he has in his possession 'a report of the speech and execution of Charles I. printed by Peter Cole in 1649, containing the following dialogue, which may be of interest as referring to the attitude of the King at his execution :—

The King.— . . looking upon the block, said to the executioner, 'You must set it fast.'

Executioner.—It is fast, Sir.

King.—It might have been a little higher.

Executioner.—It can be no higher, Sir.

King.—When I put out my hands this way, then—
(stretching them out).

After that, having said two or three words (as he stood)

to himself, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, laid his neck upon the block, and then the executioner again putting his hair under his cap, the King said, 'Stay for the signs.'

Executioner.—Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty.

And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands, the executioner, at one blow, severed his head from his body.

On May 14, 1890, Mr. Louis Fagan continued this correspondence, and wrote that—

In a perfect Diurnall of some passages in Parliament and the daily proceedings of the Army, under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, dated Tuesday, January 30, 1648, page 2317, line 21, we read as follows :—

After which the King stooping downe, laid his necke upon the blocke, and after a little pause, stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow, severed his head from his body.

It will be remembered that iron staples had been driven into the sides of the block in order to bind down the King in the event of his showing resistance ; and the suggestion has been made that from these staples, or the marks of them, the block might be identified if it is still in existence. Again, apropos of the block, 'D. B.' in 'Notes and Queries' (Third Series, vol. xi. January 1867) writes :—

I was lately informed, on seeing a picture of a Lady Fane, that she was married first to Bishop Juxon, Chaplain of Charles I., and that on her death at Little Compton, near Chipping Norton, the block on which Charles I. had his head cut off was sold.

A short while ago a correspondence took place in the 'Morning Post' regarding the present whereabouts of the axe by which Charles was decapitated. Mr. William Chapman stated that Giles Dekker was the executioner, that the axe was granted to him by Parliament, and that, upon his death, the instrument went to his son, who exhibited it at his tavern in Lambeth. This came to the King's ears, 'the axe was confiscated, and James II. became its custodian.' When the latter fled the kingdom he took the axe with him to France, and upon his death Louis XIV. became the possessor of the instrument, which, later on, fell into the hands of the Regent Orleans, who sold it to Ferdinand, King of Naples. Finally, the relic was deposited in the Museo Borbonico at Naples, where it still remains.

Thus Mr. William Chapman. It would appear, however, from another correspondent, that the axe is not known at the museum in question, and could never have been deposited there; other correspondents dispute Mr. Chapman's story; and we may conclude that if the instrument were at the museum at Naples proof of the fact would have been forthcoming.

Some relics of Charles, including the sheet that received the royal head, are in the possession of the Ashburnham family. They belonged originally to Mr. John Ashburnham, who died in 1671.

CHAPTER XVI

OLIVER CROMWELL AT WHITEHALL

THE Palace of Whitehall was for several years intimately associated with the career of Oliver Cromwell. It is known that at one time, previous to his assumption of office, he lived in King Street, Westminster, and 'there is a tradition that, on the site of Messrs. Drummond's Banking House, Oliver Cromwell had a house.'¹ When the monarchy was abolished, however, in 1649, he was residing at the Cock-pit, and there he must have remained during part of the time that he was Lord Protector. 'He removed thence,' says Ludlow, writing on April 11, 1654, 'to take possession of Whitehall, which he assigned to himself.'² It is interesting to hear that his wife seems, at first, to have been disinclined to make this change of residence; but after a while the 'Lady Protectress' became better satisfied with her grandeur. Cromwell's mother, Ludlow continues, 'who, by reason of her great age, was not so easily flattered by these temptations, very much mistrusted

¹ *An Antiquarian Ramble in the Streets of London*, by J. T. Smith, vol. i.

² *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, 1625-1672.



Del. Isaac Oliver. Sculp. J. Smith.

*Oliver Cromwell,
from the Portrait in the possession of
Sir Algernon Osborne, Bart.*

the issue of affairs, and would often be afraid, when she heard the noise of a musquet, that her son was shot, being exceedingly dissatisfied unless she might see him once a day at least.'

The royal apartments, which had been specially prepared for his reception, do not seem to have been occupied by him till some time after his installation as Protector. Upon April 13, 1654, we read that 'the Bedchamber and the rest of the lodgings and rooms appointed for the Lord Protector in Whitehall were prepared for his Highness to remove from the Cock-pit on the morrow.' And upon an earlier date than the preceding we find the following notice in the 'Weekly Intelligencer':—

'The Privy Lodgings for his Highness the Lord Protector in Whitehall, are now in readiness as also the lodgings for his Lady Protectress; and likewise the Privy Kitchen and other kitchens, butteries and offices, and it is conceived the whole family will be ready settled there before Easter.'

On April 14 of that same year, 1654, the Lord Protector with his wife and family dined at Whitehall, 'whither,' according to the journals of the day, 'his Highness and family are removed, and did this night lie there, and do there continue.'

But though the Lady Protectress had thus overcome her objections to the luxuries of the royal apartments she could not so readily divest herself of the tricks of the thrifty housewife acquired in another state of life. Therefore, she employed 'a

surveyor to make her some little labyrinths and trap-stairs by which she might, at all times unseen, pass to and fro, and come unawares upon her servants and keep them vigilant in their places and honest in the discharge thereof.'¹

Cromwell's installation took place in Westminster Hall on November 16, 1653. The ceremony was conducted with the utmost splendour, for, in spite of his Puritanical principles and his wife's indifference to such matters, Oliver loved display and pomp and magnificent surroundings, as was apparent even in his dress. For example, though he wore black velvet when he first became Protector, he arrayed himself in purple lined with ermine upon the occasion of his installation.

On the day of the latter ceremony Cromwell left the Cock-pit in a state coach at one o'clock in the afternoon, passing through King Street on his way to Westminster Hall. Judges, members of the Privy Council, in addition to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen from the City, took part in the procession. Upon his arrival at the Hall, Cromwell took his seat upon a throne containing a canopy which had been placed upon a raised platform, and had been brought from Westminster Hall for the ceremony. A table covered with a Genoa velvet cloth fringed with gold was in front of him, and upon it were placed a Bible, a sword, and

¹ *Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth Cromwell, 1664.* Quoted by Hare.

a sceptre. Temporary galleries had been erected on each side of the Hall for Cromwell's family, members of the House of Commons, and privileged spectators ; a seat close to the Protector being vouchsafed, however, to the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington. When the oath had been administered a flourish of trumpets announced the fact to the populace without. After Cromwell's return from Westminster to Whitehall those who had taken part in the procession were summoned to the Banqueting Hall, where they listened to an 'exhortation' delivered by Cromwell's Chaplain, Nicholas Lockyer, who, in after years, became Provost of Eton.

Soon after his elevation to the Protectorate, Cromwell entered the City in state ; and a graphic description of the visit is given in a letter written by Monsieur de Bordeaux to De Brienne on February 23, 1654. From this description and the comments of Bordeaux, we learn that Cromwell assumed the air of authority and all the dignity and state of a Sovereign. 'Towards the foreign ambassadors the Protector deports himself as a King, for the power of King is not greater than his.'

Cromwell's hospitality at Whitehall was of the most profuse kind. Burton and others frequently allude to entertainments on a liberal and even lavish scale which took place at the Palace under his regime. The Protector kept open house, or 'open table,' as it was called, every Monday, 'for all the officers of his Army who had attained the rank of

Captain, besides a smaller table every day of the week for such officers as came accidentally to court.'¹ 'With these,' writes Heath, 'he seemed to disport himself, taking off his drink freely, and opening himself every way to the most free familiarity.'

In addition to the Speaker and the Members of the House of Commons, Cromwell frequently entertained the Ambassadors:—

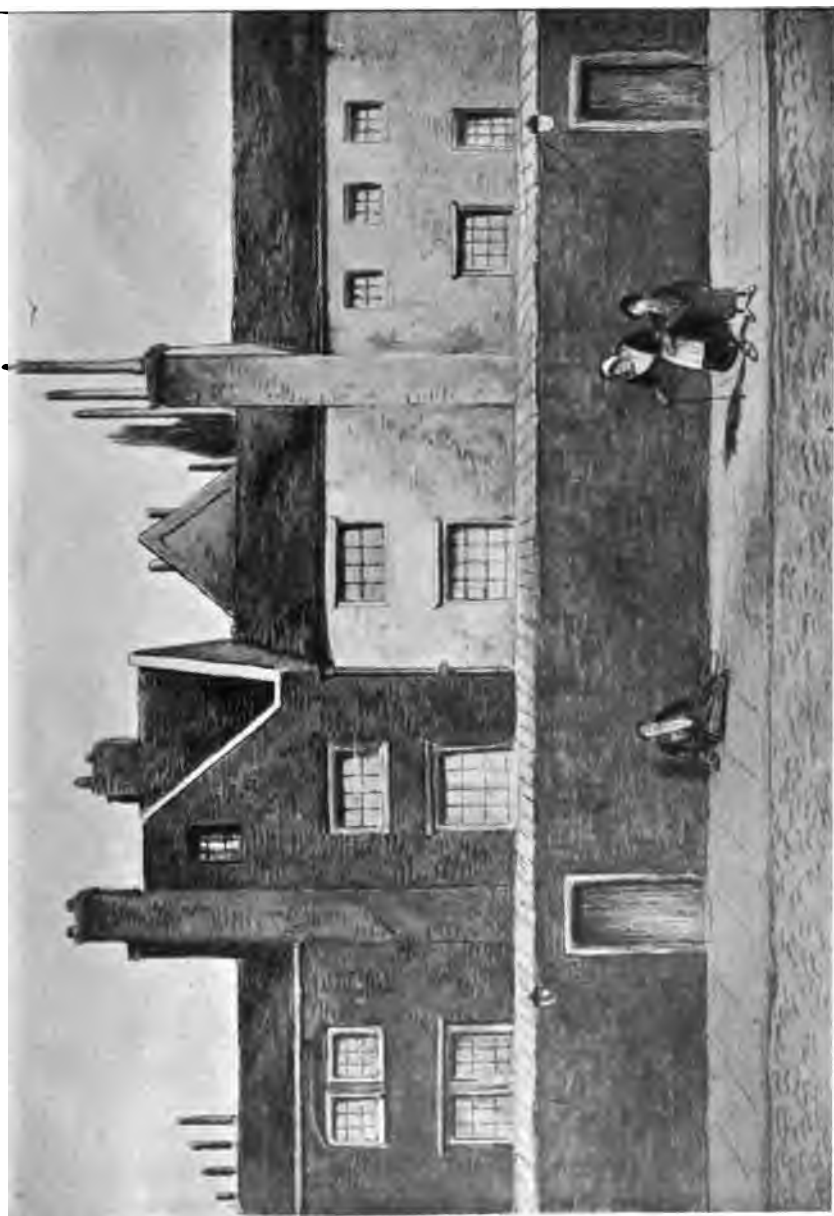
'*April 27, 1654.*—The Lords Ambassadors of the United Provinces this day dined with his Highness the Lord Protector at Whitehall, and the Lords of the Council with some Colonels and other gentlemen at two tables in the same room; and the Lords Ambassadors, the Lord President, and the Lord Lisle at the same table with his Highness; and twenty gentlemen were taken into his Highness's Life guard of foot, who carried up the meat, and many gentlemen attended, and after dinner there was a banquet. The coats of the Guards are grey cloth with black velvet collars, and silver traces and trimming.'²

Heath writes that the Commons were 'gaudily entertained,' in the year 1656, after a service which they had attended at the Church of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

We learn from authentic sources that the 'Tables for Diet,' at Whitehall, prepared for use during the Protectorate were as follows:—

¹ Jesse, from *Evelyn*.

² *Select Proceedings in State Affairs*, April 27 to May 4, 1654.



OLIVER CROMWELL'S HOUSE.
(From a Water-colour Drawing in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)

A table for his Highness,
 A table for the Protectress,
 A table for chaplains and strangers,
 A table for the steward and gentlemen,
 A table for the gentlemen,
 A table for coachmen, grooms, and other domestic
 servants,
 A table for inferiors or sub-servants.

Early in the year 1656 an attempt was made upon the life of the Protector. In 'Cromwelliana' there is a description of the affair that is so interesting that we quote it in full :—

January 19, 1656.—There was presented to the house by Mr. Secretary, a relation of a wicked design to take away the Lord Protector's life, and to fire Whitehall. . . . The principal man employed was a notable desperate fellow named Sindercom, one who heretofore had been a Quarter-Master under Sir John Reynolds in the Army, and was about two years ago cashiered by General Monk among others in Scotland. As assistant to him in this wickedness, he associated to himself one Cecil, and many others were engaged in the business whom we hope time will discover ; in the mean time only these two persons are in custody. For the carrying on their work they held correspondence with some in Flanders, received directions thence from time to time, and for their encouragement, Don Alonzo, the late Ambassador of Spain in England, returned them over sums of money, with which they were enabled to proceed. . . . They resolved to fire Whitehall. To this end they cut a hole in one of the doors of the Chapel, and so unbolting it, they, on the eighth of this month, went in and placed the materials for firing, which were discovered about nine o'clock that night, for in one of the seats was found upon the floor a basket filled with a strange composition of combustible stuff, and two

lighted matches, aptly placed, which matches had been rubbed over with gunpowder, on purpose to keep them surely burning, and by the length of them, it was conceived they would have given fire to the basket about one o'clock in the morning. The basket being removed, and trial made of some parts of the ingredients, it appeared to be most active flaming stuff. The next day, the two persons being apprehended, they were found to have screwed pistols, which upon trial appear notable instruments to do execution at a distance more than ordinary ; and they had also a strange sort of long bullets, in the nature of slugs, contrived on purpose to rend and tear. These things are made manifest, not only by many particulars of discovery, but by the confession also of one of the parties, viz. Cecil, who hath cast himself upon the good grace and mercy of his Highness . . .

Feb. 5 (1656).—The witnesses concerning the treasonous designs of Sindercom to take away the life of his Highness the Lord Protector, were heard before the Grand Jury in the Court House at Westminster, and the evidences were so full and clear against him that they found the bill *nemine contradicente*, and on Monday the 9th, he is to be brought to his trial, at the Upper Bench Bar in Westminster Hall. As concerning the carriage of Sindercom, heretofore in the Army, it is to be observed that when the Regiment, under the command of Colonel Reynolds, was ordered to march towards Ireland for the relief of Dublin, Sindercom being Quarter-Master to a troop, engaged them in a mutinous refusal to obey the said orders ; and, although strengthened with other troops, he was apprehended near Banbury by a party out of the said regiment, and the troops dispersed : and he, with some others, reserved for justice ; but taking opportunity from the darkness of the night, and multitude of prisoners taken at Burford, he escaped, and since was listed in Scotland, and thence cashiered.

Tower of London, *February 24, 1656.*—Sindercom having upon his trial by a jury in the Upper Bench

received sentence to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, for his treasonous design against the life of his Highness, and having some days' time afterwards given him for the preparing of his soul for another world, care was taken by the Hon. Sir John Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower, to send unto him, at several times, divers eminent and pious ministers of the city to confer with him touching his concernments in the life to come. Two things in his discourse were observable, that when any of the ministers came to him, he would first condition with them, that they should not treat with him at all touching the crime for which he stood condemned. The other was, that he told them always, as an entrance to his discourse, that he was for the universal point, and being pressed to explain his meaning, he told them he believed that all men were brought into a saveable estate by the death of Christ, and he doubted not but himself should fare as well as others. Which expression shows him to have been infected with that unevangelical conceit of universal redemption. Little good could be wrought on him by any of the ministers. And no marvel, if it be considered what discourse passed from him to others, since the time of his condemnation, for he was of the same opinion with many others that have slipt into libertinism, viz., that when man dieth, the soul sleepeth with the body, and (said he) it may be it shall rise again. This is that wretched opinion of that sort of men whom we (in English) call 'soul sleepers,' persons so far unworthy the name of Christians that the ancient heathens will rise up in judgment against them, and in the tendency of it so destructive to the convenience of government that it disposeth those who embrace it to attempt any wickedness whatsoever, any treason, sedition or assassination, and to despise virtue, seeing it at once destroyeth both the hope of reward, and the fear of punishment, after this life is ended. During the days allotted him for his preparation, he made several attempts with promise of a good sum of money (700*l.* first and last) to

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persuade his keeper to permit him to escape, and that, not being yielded to, he tempted him to procure him some poison, and not prevailing with him, he solicited his own sister, who was permitted to attend him, to the same purpose. On Friday, the 13th instant, betwixt seven and eight o'clock at night, the writ being brought and read unto him for his execution the next day, he trembled and quaked very much at the apprehension of death, as was visible to them that were present, yet said he was not so much troubled at death, as at the infamous manner of it. What happened afterwards is as followeth :—Immediately upon this sad news, his sister was heard to say, in the house below stairs, that nothing troubled her so much as that he should be hanged, &c., but she had rather see him die before he went out of that room. He having discoursed a little with the men in his chamber (which were about four or five to attend him) called for a Bible, and having read awhile, he then desired them to withdraw out of the room for about half an hour, that he might have liberty to pray alone. The attendants withdrew, and putting the door to, they stood there at the top of the stairs ; but before the half hour was over, he came to them himself to the door, and putting it open, bade them come in, in a cheerful manner, rubbing his hands together, and then about his mouth and nose, saying, ' I have done, and now pray you come in.' Not long after, he undressed himself, and springing lively into bed, ' Well ' (said he) ' this is the last night that ever I shall lie in bed.' Being in bed, he had some discourse awhile with the company, without any sign of sickness, then drawing his curtain, and lying awhile silent, and afterwards snorting, one of the company observing it, went and drew the curtain gently to look on him, and found him in a dying, senseless condition. All ways were used to recover him, but nothing could avail, for he was in a manner dead by eleven o'clock at night, or a little after, though he languished till twelve. February 15, being the Lord's day, Sindercom's keeper taking care for

the airing and cleaning of the chamber where he dyed, and the close stool being removed, under it was found a paper written and subscribed with his own hand as followeth :—
 ‘ God knoweth my heart, I do take this course, because I would not have all the open shame of the world executed upon my body. I desire all good people not to judge amiss of me, for I do not fear my life, but do trust God with my soul. I did this thing without the privity of any person in the world ; I do, before God and the world, clear my keeper, my sister, my mother, or brother, or any of my relations, but it was done alone by myself, I say by me.

‘ MILES SINDERCOM.

‘ 13 day, 1656.’

Friday the 16.—The testimonies of the physicians and chirurgeons, as also Sindercom’s own paper, being considered by the Coroner and jury, they unanimously resolved and agreed that he by some extraordinary means had caused his own death, and that they verily believed the same to be by poison. On the 17, Miles Sindercom aforesaid being found to have murdered himself, his body was, according to law, drawn to the open place upon Tower Hill, at a horse’s tail, with his head forward, and there under the scaffold of common execution, a hole being digged, he was turned in, stark naked, and a stake spiked with iron was driven through him into the earth ; that part of the stake which remains above ground being all plated with iron, which may stand as an example of terror to all traitors for the time to come.

The story is carried a step farther by two other quotations from the same book :—

July 24, 1657.—Colonel Edward Sexby, who was formerly of the Army, but of late years hath been in Flanders, and then engaged in design with the Spanish party, against his Highness the Protector and the Commonwealth, coming over into England lately to promote the

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said design, and being this day under sail to return into the Low Countries, was apprehended in the 'Hope' in a mean habit, disguised like a countryman, and his visage altered by an overgrown beard, who being brought before his Highness was, after examination, sent prisoner to the Tower of London.

However,

On October 12, 1656, this same Colonel Sexby (who died on January 13, 1657, a prisoner in the Tower) sent for the Lieutenant of the Tower (Sir John Barkstead) and confessed to him the following particulars :—

'Sir John, I sent to you, to tell you that I am guilty of the whole business of Sindercom as to the design of killing the Lord Protector, &c., and to that purpose I furnished Sindercom with about 500*l.* in money and also with arms, and tyed him to an engagement that he should not reveal the design.' And further, he said, 'The letters they have of mine, they could not prove them to be mine but by my own confession; which I now confess and acknowledge that they are mine, and that I was with *Charles Stuart*, and acquainted him that I was an enemy to the Lord Protector; and I also declare that I also received a large sum of money from the Spaniard to carry on my said design, and to make what confusion I could in England, by endeavouring the killing of the Lord Protector, and by what other ways I had in design: and to the end the better to effect it, I came into England in a disguised habit and was the principal in putting on others in the said design.'

Evelyn, who had not been to Whitehall for many years, paid a visit to it in the year 1656, and says that he found the Palace 'very glorious and well furnished.'

On April 4 of the same year, Cromwell, despite

the pressure brought to bear upon him by the Commons, refused the crown of England, which had been formally offered to him.

The Palace was the scene of Cromwell's death in 1658. He died there on September 3, the day of the year which had always been his 'lucky day,' the date of his greatest successes. The cause of his death has been supposed to be that influenza which is so painfully familiar to most people nowadays. The symptoms are thus described:—

Whitehall, Sept. 3, 1658. His most Serene and Renowned Highness, Oliver, Lord Protector, being after a sickness of about fourteen days (which appeared an ague in the beginning) reduced to a very low condition of body, began early this morning to draw near the Gate of Death; and it pleased God, about three o'clock this afternoon, to put a period to his life.¹

A terrible storm was raging at the time of his death; houses were blown down, ships were dashed against the shore, the finest trees were uprooted in St. James's Park, and hurled beneath the northern windows of the Palace. 'It was the devil coming for the regicide's soul,' declared his enemies, whilst his supporters perceived rather in that tremendous wind the emotion of the elements at the departure of so great a spirit. And Waller, whose beautiful lines on the death of Charles I. were destined to be acknowledged as the perfect expression of the King's

¹ *Cromwelliana*, p. 175.

dignity, alluded to it in his noble ode on the death of the Protector.

We must resign ; Heaven his great soul doth claim,
 In storms as loud as his immortal fame.
 His dying groans : his last breath shakes our isle
 And trees uncut fall for his funeral pile :
 About his Palace their broad roots are tost
 Into the air. So Romulus was lost :
 And Rome in such a tempest lost her King,
 And from obeying fell to worshipping.

Meantime, 'at Whitehall,' says Ludlow, 'they were unwilling to have it known that Cromwell was so dangerously ill ; yet, by reason of a clause in the humble petition and advice (which was the rule of government they pretended to act by), that the Protector should have power to nominate his successor, the Commissioners of the Great Seal attended for signing the declaration of the person to be appointed to succeed him. The Commissioners were not admitted till the following Friday, when the symptoms of death were apparent upon him.'¹

The circumstances of the Protector's death gave rise to the usual suspicion of poison, and suspicion fastened upon Dr. George Bate, the chief State Physician.²

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*.

² Extract from *Choice Notes from Notes and Queries* (Bell and Daldy, 1858), p. 211—'Cromwell Poisoned.' At p. 516, vol. ii. of Burton's *Parliamentary Diary*, it is stated in a note upon the death of Oliver Cromwell, that his body exhibited certain appearances 'owing to the disease of which the Protector died ; which, by-the-by,

From whatever cause, fair or foul, Cromwell was dead. The body was embalmed and lay in state. Thereafter it was interred with regal splendour in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. The funeral, indeed, was conducted on a most extravagant scale and cost—so Heath, in his 'Chronicle' informs us—no less a sum than 60,000*l*. But Cowley, who attended the Protector's funeral, after recording 'the pomp of the obsequies,' as Lord Rosebery expresses it, drew the bitter moral of it all :—

But yet, I know not how, the whole was so mene that methinks it somewhat expressed the life of him for whom it was made—much noise, much tumult, much expense, much magnificence ; briefly, a great show, and yet, with all this, but an ill sight.

Cromwell was buried. But he was not allowed

appeared to be that of poison.' (The words *Prestwick's MS.* are attached to this note.)

In the *Athenæ Oxonienses* of Anthony à Wood, ii. 303, it is stated that Dr. George Bate's friends gave him credit for having given a baneful dose to the Protector to ingratiate himself with Charles II. Amidst all the mutations of those changeful times, and whether Charles I., Cromwell, or Charles II. were in the ascendant, Dr. George Bate always contrived to be the chief State Physician. In Whitelock's *Memorials of the English Affairs* (1732, p. 494), it appears that the Parliament, in 1651, ordered Dr. Bate to go into Scotland to attend the General (Cromwell), and to take care of his health ; he being his usual physician in London, and well esteemed by him. He wrote a work styled *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Angliâ*. This was severely scrutinised in another entitled *Elenchus Elenchi: sive Animadversiones in Georgii Batei, Cromwelli Parricide aliquando Protomedici, Elenchum Motuum nuperorum in Angliâ*, Autore Robert Pugh, Parisiis, 1664. Dr. Bate, who died April 19, 1669, was buried at Kingston-upon-Thames.

to rest in peace. After the Restoration, the bodies of the Protector, of Ireton, and of Bradshaw were exhumed, and were hanged on the gibbet at Tyburn. The heads were afterwards cut off and stuck on the top of Westminster Hall, while the bodies were buried beneath the gallows. Oliver's head is said to be now in some private collection. It fell, so the story runs, from the top of Westminster Hall one stormy night, was picked up and concealed by the sentinel on duty below, who disposed of it to the Russells, who were near relatives of the Protector.

There are two other traditions anent the remains of Cromwell, of which we may say that one is conceivably, the other not conceivably, founded on fact. We cannot conceive it to be true that the burial at Westminster was, in accordance with the second of the traditions named, a mock ceremonial, and that Cromwell's body was actually taken down to Northamptonshire, and there interred next to his favourite daughter, Mrs. Claypole. For this tradition involves the very unlikely supposition that Oliver or his friends foresaw, at the time of his death, the return of the Stuarts, and even the coming vengeance that should be wreaked upon his remains.¹ But, if it be admitted—and the admission is inevitable,

¹ The Marquess of Ripon, we learn on the authority of a writer in the *Yorkshire Post*, Feb. 7, 1901, has in his possession a copper-gilt plate taken out of the coffin when it was broken open. On it are the arms of England impaling those of Cromwell. But the presence of the plate in the coffin does not, of course, prove the presence of Cromwell's body there.

until some stronger evidence to the contrary is produced—that Cromwell's body was actually interred at Westminster, it is still just possible that the other legend, which insists that the remains of the Protector now lie at Newburgh Priory, in Yorkshire, may be true. We leave it to an ingenious writer in the 'Yorkshire Post'¹ to show how this might have come to pass :—

According to Noble, a trustworthy and sensible historian, the bodies of the regicides lay at the Red Lion Inn, Holborn, from a Saturday to Monday before being taken to Tyburn. In Petronius one reads of an Ephesian matron who bribed the officers set to watch the body of her husband, and allowed her to substitute another in its place, to save it from threatened indignities. It is not inconceivable that Cromwell's daughter, Lady Fauconburg, a wealthy lady as she was, should have been able to overcome the scruples of the guards about her father's body, and was allowed to take it away, of course substituting another corpse. If it was thus obtained, no better place in all England could have been chosen for a secret burial than this spot on the Hambledon Hills, for does not tradition say that the Laudian screen in the neighbouring church of Stonegrave survives because the Commissioners sent to destroy it could not find the place? At all events, at the top of Newburgh Priory there is a narrow room, one end of which is occupied by a mass of stone-work built into the wall. Here, it is said, the remains of Oliver Cromwell rest, and many with whom all bitter feelings about Charles and his enemies have passed away, may wish to believe it.

¹ *Loc. cit.*

CHAPTER XVII

ROYAL RESIDENTS IN WHITEHALL PALACE

IN the chapter entitled 'The Old Palace of White, hall' it was shown how that building, formerly known as York Place, passed into the hands of Henry VIII.; a description was also given of the additions which the King made to the Palace. These, we may be forgiven for repeating, consisted of a Tennis-Court, a Cock-pit, a Bowling-green, and a Tilt-yard, all of which were connected with the old Palace by a gateway which spanned the street below the present Banqueting House.

From the time of Henry VIII. till that of William and Mary, when it was destroyed by fire, Whitehall was the principal residence of the Sovereign. From old maps we gather that the apartments occupied by the King and Queen, and the members of the Royal Family, were situated between the Stone Gallery and the old river line, now obliterated by the Embankment; they covered 'a site which extended as far as Whitehall Palace Stairs'

The history of the Palace contains nothing of

interest in the brief reign of Edward VI. except, perhaps, the fact that Bishop Latimer preached there, in the Privy Gardens, to the King and his Court. Edward VI., it will be remembered, spent much of his time 'in study, meditation, and prayer.' Nor is there much to relate about the association of his successor Queen Mary with the Palace. We read, however, that she went by water from Whitehall to her coronation at Westminster, preceded by her sister Elizabeth, who bore the Queen's crown and complained of its weight to the French Ambassador, M. de Noailles. His excellency was equal to the occasion, and returned, very happily: 'Be patient; it will seem lighter when on your own head.'

Elizabeth's associations with Whitehall were interesting and dramatic. She was detained a prisoner there for the part she had taken in Sir Thomas Wyatt's conspiracy, and was conveyed thence to the Tower on Palm Sunday, 1554. Her accession to the throne brought about a great change in her experiences of Whitehall, which thereupon became the scene of endless diversions and entertainments. Towards the close of her reign, in 1598, when she was in her 67th year, Hentzner visited England, and gives us a very minute and interesting account of the Queen. He describes her as having a wrinkled face, a red periwig, little eyes, a hooked nose, shining lips, and black teeth. Some curious anecdotes of the Court in Elizabeth's later years may be read in the letters of Rowland

Whyte in the 'Sydney State Papers' (vol. ii. p. 194).

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, on March 24, 1603, James, King of Scots, succeeded to the throne as James I. of England; and the accession of the House of Stuart 'marks a new epoch in the history of Whitehall.'¹ The Lords of the Council despatched a messenger to King James announcing to him his accession; but their news was forestalled: 'her (Queen Elizabeth's) kinsman, Robert Carey, afterwards Earl of Monmouth, quitting the Palace by stealth, was the first to apprise the Scottish Monarch of his long coveted accession to the English throne.'² Amongst the various interesting incidents that occurred in Whitehall in the reign of James I. was the examination of Guy Fawkes, who, bound hand and foot, had been brought to the King's chamber by Sir Thomas Knevet. When asked what were his intentions in regard to the many barrels of gunpowder that had been discovered, Fawkes replied, 'One of my objects was to blow Scotchmen back into Scotland.'

On March 28, 1625, the day after his father's death, Charles I. came to Whitehall with the Duke of Buckingham, and thither he brought his Queen after their marriage at Canterbury, on June 16, 1625. According to Walpole, the Palace, in this reign, presented 'a union of taste, magnificence,

¹ Carey's *Memoirs of his own Life*

² Brayley's *Londiniana*. 1829.

and decorum,' and this judgment is confirmed by Marshal Bassompierre, himself a man of great culture and refinement, on the occasion of his visit to England in 1626. The Marshal thus describes his state introduction to the King and Queen:—
 'I found the King raised on a stage two steps, the Queen and he on two chairs, who rose the first bow I made them on coming in. The company was magnificent and the order exquisite.'

Difficulties arose between Charles and his wife upon the subject of her religion. Queen Henrietta, who was a daughter of Henry IV. of France, refused, as a Roman Catholic, to be crowned with her husband, and even withdrew her presence from the ceremony, which took place in Westminster Abbey on February 2, 1626; she watched the procession, however, from the Palace windows. Again, she had brought over to this country and attached to her Court a Roman Catholic Bishop and twenty-nine priests who secretly performed Mass in her closet at Whitehall, and who, together with certain English Jesuits, greatly exasperated the King by their high-handed and presumptuous manner. In the course of a few months Charles found their presence unendurable, and sent Lord Conway to order them, in the King's name, to quit the country and return to France. The interview took place in St. James's Park. 'The King's pleasure was, that all her Majesty's servants of that

nation (France). should depart the kingdom,'¹ and the reason that had led the King to this decision was given.

The Bishop 'stood much upon it,' but was at length silenced by the remark 'that England would find force enough to convey him hence. . . . The women howled and lamented, as if they had been going to execution ; but all in vain, for the Yeomen of the Guard, by that Lord's appointment, thrust him and all their country's folk out of the Queen's lodgings, and locked the doors after them. It is said also that the Queen, when she understood the design, grew very impatient, and broke the glass windows with her fist ; but since then her rage is appeased, and the King and she, since they went together to Nonsuch, have been very joined together.'²

The following incident, which has reference to this subject, may be quoted. 'The King one day appeared suddenly at the Queen's side of the house, and finding some French servants of hers irreverently dancing and curvetting in her presence, took her by the hand, and led her unto his lodgings, locking the door after him and shutting out all save the Queen.'

The proceedings in regard to these French people induced the French Ambassador, Marshal Bassompierre, to request an audience and expla-

¹ *Pictorial England*, vii. 108.

² Ellis's *Collection of Letters* : Letter from John Pory to Meade.

nation of the King. The request was at first refused ; after a time, however, Charles granted him a private audience, and gave the reasons that had led him to take action in the matter. His Majesty became much heated in the course of the discussion, and concluded thus : ‘ Why do you not execute your commission at once, and declare war against me ? ’ To which Bassompierre replied : ‘ I am not a herald to declare war, but a Marshal of France to make it when declared.’ ‘ I witnessed there an instance of great boldness,’ he continues, ‘ not to say impudence, of the Duke of Buckingham, which was that when he saw us the most heated he ran up suddenly and threw himself between the King and me, saying, “ I am come to keep the peace between you two.” ’

The affair ended in an agreement, by which Queen Henrietta was allowed to have one Roman Catholic Bishop and twelve priests attached to her Court ; it was stipulated, however, that these were not to be Jesuits.

Pepys, who, in later years, was present with his wife on a certain occasion when the Queen was dining at Whitehall, describes her as ‘ a very little plain old woman, and nothing in her garb or presence different from any ordinary person. The Princess of Orange,’ he continues, ‘ I had often seen before. The Princess Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation ; and her dressing of herself

with her hair frizzed short up to the ears did make her seem so much the less to me.'

Charles I. was lavish in his hospitality at Whitehall. Of the prodigious plenty at his Court we have already quoted some striking details.¹

Charles II., when he came into his own, was not likely to be less lavish. At the Restoration, in 1660, he proceeded at once to Whitehall, having landed at Dover, upon the invitation of the Lords and Commons, on his thirtieth birthday. The passing of the procession which heralded his approach lasted from two in the afternoon till nine at night, and 'many,' says Evelyn, 'stood and beheld it and blessed God.'

In this reign 'Whitehall became the scene of the most open profligacy,' and presented an appearance very different from that which had existed under what Voltaire describes as '*la sombre administration de Cromwell.*' On the very evening of his return to Whitehall, Charles withdrew from the Palace to the house of Sir Samuel Morland at Lambeth, where he spent the night with Mrs. Palmer, who afterwards became Duchess of Cleveland.

'To Whitehall I was told the Queen was acoming,' writes Pepys, in his 'Diary,' under the date November 2, 1660; and in 'Rugge's Diurnal,' under the same date, we read, 'The Queen Mother and the Princess Henrietta came into London, the Queen

¹ See above, Chapter II.



Samuel Cooper pinxt.

By order of the Duke of Richmond, 1684.

*Charles II,
from a miniature in the possession of
The Duke of Richmond & Gordon at Goodwood.*

having left this land nineteen years ago. Her coming was very private.'

In 1662, Charles married Catherine of Braganza, and, to his deep disgrace, he compelled his wife to be attended by his mistresses. Pepys in his 'Diary,' July 13, 1663, describes how the King and Queen rode hand in hand in the Park, attended by the Ladies of Honour. The Queen 'looked in this dress (a white laced waistcoat, and a crimson short pettycoat, and her hair dressed *à la négligence*) mighty pretty.' Lady Castlemaine was among the ladies; but the King took no notice of her, and she looked 'mighty out of humour: nor did anybody speak to her, or she so much as smile or speak to anybody.' Pepys followed the ladies into Whitehall, and into the Queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads, and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beauty and dress, that ever I did see in my life. But, above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dress, with her hat cocked, and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent *taille*, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life: and if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress, nor do I wonder if the King changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine.' Later on, Pepys describes the King's attentions to Miss Stuart. He 'will be

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with her for half an hour together, kissing her to the observation of all the world : ' conduct which roused furious resentment in the Duchess of Cleveland, who, in a heated interview with the King, said, ' Miss Stuart had doubtless dismissed him from her apartment on the ground of affected indisposition, or some pretended scruples of delicacy ; but he had only to return to her chamber and he would find his happy rival, the Duke of Richmond, occupying his place.' The King hesitated, whereupon the Duchess led him to the apartment in question.

' Miss Stuart's chamber,' writes De Grammont, ' was in the middle of a little gallery, which led through a private door from the King's apartments to those of his mistresses. The Duchess of Cleveland wished him good night, as he entered her rival's chamber, and retired in order to wait the issue of the adventure. The King had his hand almost on the door-handle, when he was obstructed by Miss Stuart's waiting-maid, who attempted to oppose his entrance, telling him her mistress had been ill, and had only just fallen asleep. Charles, however, insisted upon forcing his way into the apartment. ' He found Miss Stuart in bed,' continues De Grammont, ' but far from being asleep.' The Duke of Richmond was seated at her pillow, and, in all probability, was less inclined to sleep than herself. The confusion of the one party and the rage of the other were such as may be easily imagined on such an occasion. The King, who, of all men, was



KING JAMES II.

(From a Picture by J. Riley in the National Portrait Gallery.)

the most mild and gentle, expressed his resentment to the Duke of Richmond in such terms as he had never before made use of. The Duke was speechless and almost petrified. He saw his master and his King justly irritated. The first transports which rage inspires on such occasions are dangerous. Miss Stuart's window was very convenient for a sudden revenge: the Thames flowing close beneath it. He cast his eyes upon it, and seeing those of the King more inflamed with indignation than he thought his nature capable of, he made a profound bow, and retired without replying a single word to the torrent of reproaches and menaces that were poured upon him.

In March, 1667, Miss Stuart fled from her apartments in the Palace to join the Duke, whom she married within twenty-four hours. Bishop Burnet says that it was difficult to picture the wrath of the King on hearing of this elopement.

One day, when passing along the gallery that led by a private door from the King's apartments to those of the ladies of the Court, Charles heard Miss Howard singing a composition in which his 'familiar sobriquet of Old Rowley' was mentioned. Thereupon the King knocked at the door of her apartments, and when she asked who was there, his Majesty replied, 'Only Old Rowley.'

Upon the death of Charles II., his brother was proclaimed King, as James II., at the gate of Whitehall, 'in the very forme his grandfather, King

James I., was, after ye death of Queen Elizabeth.' The Palace was the scene of various incidents in the reign of the second James, who is said, however, to have greatly preferred St. James's Palace to that of Whitehall.

It was at Whitehall that James first received the tidings of the projected invasion of his dominions by the Prince of Orange. When at length it became known that the Prince of Orange had landed on the shores of England, it was only natural that James should turn his thoughts towards the safety of his infant heir, afterwards styled the 'Old Pretender,' and that of his young wife, Mary of Modena, whose subsequent flight from Whitehall is not the least romantic episode in his history.

Accordingly, on the evening of December 6, 1688, the King, without having previously communicated his intentions to the Queen, sent for Count de Lauzun, the well-known favourite of Louis XIV., and desired him to make instant preparations for her departure. Everything having been duly prepared, the Count de Lauzun, accompanied by Monsieur de St. Victor, repaired at the appointed hour to the King's apartments, and informed him of the steps they had taken. James at once proceeded to the apartments of the Queen, who, on being awoke, threw herself at his feet, and implored him to allow her to remain and share the dangers which surrounded him. James—instead of relenting—issued further orders that the Princess's two nurses

should be awakened. It was between three and four in the morning, when the Queen, carrying her infant in her arms, stole in disguise down the back stairs at Whitehall to the private water entrance to the Palace. At the foot of the staircase an open boat was in readiness, in which the Queen and her attendants crossed the river to Lambeth. There a coach had been appointed to meet them, but by some accident its arrival had been delayed. 'During the time she had been kept waiting,' writes Dalrymple, 'she took shelter under the walls of an old church at Lambeth, turning her eyes, streaming with tears, sometimes upon the Prince, unconscious of the miseries which attend upon royalty, and who, upon that account, raised the greater compassion in her breast, and sometimes at the innumerable lights of the city, amidst the shimmerings of which she in vain explored the Palace in which her husband was left, and started at every sound she heard from thence.'

While in this disagreeable situation the fugitives had a narrow escape from discovery. 'The Queen,' writes Father Orleans, 'waiting in the rain under the church wall for a coach, the curiosity of a man who happened to come out of a neighbouring inn with a light gave considerable cause of alarm. He was making towards the spot where she was standing, when Rida, one of her attendants, suddenly rushed forward and jostled him, so that they both fell into the mire. It was a happy diversion, as, the

stranger believing it to be the result of accident, they both apologised, and so the matter ended.

'From Lambeth they proceeded by land to Gravesend, where a vessel was waiting for her, in which she arrived at Calais at four the following afternoon.

'James communicated his intention of his flight to the Duke of Northumberland, a natural son of Charles II. and Lord in Waiting at the time, desiring him on his allegiance to keep the secret till the necessity for concealment should no longer exist. Accordingly, about three on the following morning, December 11, the King took boat at the private water entrance of the Palace, and before daybreak was far on his way down the river.'

The information that he must quit London upon the 'next morning' was conveyed to James by Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, at the hour of midnight, when the King was in bed at Whitehall.

Upon James's abdication battalions of Dutch Guards, under the command of the Comte de Solmes, were sent to Whitehall. The aged Earl of Craven, who was in command of the Coldstream Guards at the Palace, heard their approach at about ten o'clock at night, and determined to remain in possession of his post. He gave it up, however, to the Prince of Orange after receiving a message from James.

In 1688, 'the Convention of Lords and



QUEEN MARY II.

(From a Picture by William Wissing in the National Portrait Gallery.)

Commons met at Whitehall to settle the Prince of Orange upon the throne,'¹ and, in December of the same year, the Prince took up his residence in St. James's Palace. Mary, Princess of Orange, arrived at Whitehall on February 13, 1689, and she and her husband were proclaimed King and Queen of England upon the following day.

Evelyn writes : ' Mary came to Whitehall, laughing and jolly as to a wedding, as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undress, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from room to room, to see the convenience of Whitehall ; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late Queen lay, and within a night or two sat down to play at basset, as the Queen, her predecessor, used to do.'

Bishop Burnet, though a warm supporter of Queen Mary, wrote very strongly about her unseemly conduct upon this occasion, whilst the Duchess of Marlborough, in her 'account of her own conduct,' said of the Queen's want of feeling : 'Of this she seemed to give me an unquestionable proof the first day she came to Whitehall. She ran about it, looking into every closet and convenience, and turning up the quilts upon the bed, as people do when they come to an inn, and with no sort of concern in her appearance and behaviour, which, though at that time I was extremely carressed by her, I thought very strange and unbecoming ; for

¹ Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*.

whatever necessity there was of deposing King James he was still her father, who had so lately been driven from that chamber and that bed ; and if she felt no tenderness, I thought she should still have looked grave, or even pensively sad, at so melancholy a reverse of his fortune.'

But there is an explanation of 'this strange behaviour of the amiable Mary.'¹ It has been given by Macaulay,² whose account of the matter we quote in full :—

On the eleventh of January, the ship in which the Princess of Orange had embarked lay off Margate, and on the following morning anchored at Greenwich. She was received with many signs of joy and affection ; but her demeanour shocked the Tories, and was not thought faultless even by the Whigs. A young woman, placed by a destiny as mournful and awful as that which brooded over the fabled houses of Labdacus and Pelops, in such a situation that she could not, without violating her duty to her God, her husband, and her country, refuse to take her seat on the throne from which her father had just been hurled, should have been sad, or at least serious. Mary was not merely in high, but in extravagant, spirits. She entered Whitehall, it was asserted, with a girlish delight at being mistress of so fine a house, ran about the rooms, peeped into the closets and examined the quilts of the state bed without seeming to remember by whom those stately apartments had last been occupied. Burnet, who had, till then, thought her an angel in human form, could not on this occasion refrain from blaming her. He was the more astonished because, when he took leave of her at the Hague, she had, though fully convinced that she was in the path of duty, been deeply dejected. To him, as to her spiritual

¹ Walcott.

² 'History of England,' vol. ii. pp. 658, 659

guide, she afterwards explained her conduct. William had written to inform her that some of those who had tried to separate her interest from his still continued their machinations. They gave it out that she thought herself wronged, and, if she wore a gloomy countenance, the report would be confirmed. He therefore entreated her to make her first appearance with an air of cheerfulness. Her heart, she said, was far indeed from cheerful ; but she had done her best, and, as she was afraid of not sustaining well a part which was uncongenial to her feelings, she had over-acted it. Her deportment was the subject of reams of scurrility in prose and verse, it lowered her in the opinion of some whose esteem she valued ; nor did the world know, till she was beyond the reach of praise and censure, that the conduct which had brought on her the reproach of levity and insensibility was really a signal instance of that perfect disinterestedness and self-devotion of which man seems to be incapable, but which is sometimes found in woman.¹

Soon after their proclamation, William and Mary began to look out for a suitable residence, for the King was always ailing when at Whitehall, though the Palace itself was magnificent, and the situation all that could be desired. It may therefore be said that Whitehall was no longer a royal residence after the abdication of James II. ; that, in fact, it ' ceased to exist as a Palace with the House of Stuart.'

¹ *Duchess of Marlborough's Vindication.* Burnet, i. 781. Evelyn's *Diary*, February 21, 1688.

CHAPTER XVIII

RESIDENTS OTHER THAN ROYAL IN WHITEHALL
PALACE

THERE were many rooms in Whitehall Palace set aside for the use of those who chanced from time to time to be in favour at Court. Smith, in his 'Antiquities of Westminster,' written in the year 1807, tells us that of these rooms seventy 'were till very lately remaining,' and he refers us to a plan of the whole as it was in 1680, made by John Fisher, a surveyor at that time, and afterwards engraved by Vertue, with which our readers are already familiar.¹

One of the earliest of the famous non-royal residents in Whitehall Palace was the artist Holbein. He had been presented to Henry VIII. by Sir Thomas More, and the King assigned him a permanent suite of apartments in Whitehall, and commissioned him to paint the interior of the new Palace, for which work he received 200 florins per annum.

Another early resident in the Palace was Lady

¹ See Chapter II.

Margaret, Countess of Lennox, who was removed thence to the Tower on April 22, 1565.

In the year 1617, while James I. was away in Scotland, Lord Chancellor Bacon took up his quarters in Whitehall. Bacon the writer was a very different man from Bacon the courtier and politician. At Whitehall the worse, the practical, side of his character revealed itself, and we have a glimpse of the Bacon who betrayed Essex, cringed to Buckingham, and proved himself in the end but a coward, a shuffler, and a snob. He had been given full powers during the King's absence, and he used them with such arrogance that Secretary Winwood, at one of the Council meetings, 'rose, went away, and would never sit more : but instantly dispatched one to the King to desire him to make haste back, for his seat was already usurped ; at which I remember,' says Webster, 'the King reading it unto us, both the King and we were very merry.'

In this reign, also, Miss Catherine Sedley, afterwards Countess of Dorchester, and a mistress of the King, had apartments in Whitehall. This lady, according to Walpole, wondered on what principle James chose his mistresses, and is reputed to have said : 'We are none of us handsome, and if we had wit he had not enough to find it out.'

Loftie says that very probably 'among the colonels and generals, who lodged themselves or were lodged in Whitehall after the death of

Charles I., Oliver Cromwell was one.' When the great Protector died, his son, Richard Cromwell, took up his residence in Whitehall, and remained there while his brief rule lasted. He was beset on all sides by creditors while at the Palace, and, according to Heath, after his resignation of the Protectorship the creditors became pressing. Bailiffs of Westminster with writs in hand besieged the Palace in large numbers almost every day. Richard, by the by, nearly lost his life in Whitehall when the stairs of the Banqueting House gave way on the occasion of his visit to his father in 1657.

Among those who resided within the Palace walls in Charles the Second's time were Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and his Duchess, who inhabited a house which overlooked the Park, and which had been occupied by Oliver Cromwell before he became Protector. The Duke of Monmouth and Ormonde, Lady Castlemaine, and Captain Cooke, Master of the 'Children' of the Chapel Royal, also had quarters near the Cock-pit. In other parts of the Palace were the apartments of the Earl of Rochester, Lord Bath, Lord Peterborough, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Duke of Richmond, the Duchess of Cleveland, and other ladies, of whom we know but little—Mrs. Kirk, Lady Sears, and Mrs. Chiffinch.

Near to the Stone Gallery were the apartments of Louise Renée de Penancoet de Keroualle, 'lately Maide of Honour to Madame, and now to be so to

ye Queene,'¹ who afterwards became Duchess of Portsmouth, and who was commonly known as Madame Carwell. Evelyn describes her as having a 'childish, simple, and baby face.' The same writer describes the Duchess's apartments as 'curiously furnished, and with ten times the richness and glory beyond the Queen's.'² Further on he continues: 'Following his Majesty this morning thro' the gallerie, I went with the few who attended him into the Dutchesse of Portsmouth's dressing-roome within her bedchamber, where she was in her morning loose garment, her maids combing her hair, newly out of her bed, his Majesty and the gallants standing about her; but that which engaged my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment, now twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Majesty's does not exceede some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Here I saw the new fabrig of French tapissry for designe, tendernesse of worke, and incomparable imitation of the best paintings beyond anything I have ever beheld. Some pieces had Versailles, St. German's, and other palaces of the French King, with huntings, figures, and land-skips, exotig fowls, and all to the life rarely don. Then for Japan cabinets, screens, pendule clocks, greate vases of wrought plate, table stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, braseras, &c., all of

¹ Evelyn.

² Evelyn's *Memoirs*, p. 539.

massie silver, and out of number, besides some of her Majesty's best paintings.'¹

Pennant says that Nell Gwynn did not reside at Whitehall, 'not having the honour to be on the Queene's Establishment;' but this, according to Jesse, is a 'double error.' In the first place it is proved from books at the Lord Chamberlain's office that she *was* one of the ladies of the Privy Chamber to Queen Catherine of Braganza, having been sworn into that post in 1675;² 'while the fact,' says Jesse, 'of her having had apartments at Whitehall in her official capacity appears to be no less certain, for Anthony Wood, when writing of the King's parties and entertainments, writes thus: "They met either in the lodgings of Louise, Duchess of Portsmouth, or in those of Chiffinch near the back-stairs, or in the apartments of Eleanor Gwynn, or that of Baptist May."'

Evelyn's friend, Sir Robert Murray, was a resident at Whitehall; Titus Oates also had apartments¹ in the Palace, together with a pension of 1,200*l.* per annum.

In the year 1685, the Duke of Monmouth would seem to have been an unwilling resident in Whitehall for a short period, for in an old book kept in the Registrar-General's Office at Somerset House we read:—

James Scot, late Duke of Monmouth, landed at Lyme R^d in Dorsetshire wth about 150 men on the 11th day of

¹ Evelyn's *Memoirs*, p. 563.

² Pegge's *Curialia*, p. 58.

June, 1685. He was Routed at Weston Moore near Bridgewater on Monday, July ye 6th following. He was taken July 8th in Dorsetshire near Ringwood, on the borders of Hampshire. He was brought to Whitehall July 13th, and fro thence conveyed to the Tower, and executed on Tower Hill July 15th. He dyed a refractory ffanatick, owning (at the last) he had lived happily for two years last past with y^e Lady Harriot Wentworth as his wife. His Dutchess when he saw her in the Tower he rec^d but coldly.

But, as a rule, it was not under constraint that people became residents in the apartments of Whitehall.

CHAPTER XIX

MARRIAGES IN WHITEHALL PALACE

THE first marriage recorded as having taken place at Whitehall was that of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn on January 25, 1533. 'On that day,' says Stow, 'King Henry privily married the Lady Anne Boleine in his closet at Whitehall, being St. Paul's Day.' According to Lingard, the marriage was celebrated 'in a garret at the eastern end of the Palace,' in the presence of a few confidential attendants. Dr. Rowland Lee, a royal chaplain, at one time Bishop of Chester, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and President of Wales, performed the ceremony. Some historians say that he had been summoned to say Mass in the King's closet, where he found not only the King but also Anne Boleyn and Mrs. Savage, afterwards Lady Berkeley, her train-bearer, and two grooms of the bed-chamber.

'It is not quite so certain, however,' says Friedmann, 'who was the priest so servile or so perjured as to officiate on this occasion. Dr. Rowland Lee, the King's chaplain, soon afterwards appointed to



KING HENRY VIII.

(From the Picture by Luke Hornebolt in the National Portrait Gallery.)

the See of Coventry and Lichfield, is generally said to have been the man ; but there is no evidence for this.¹

According to Eustace Chapuis, on the other hand, the priest who performed the ceremony was an Augustinian friar, who, for his services on that occasion, was appointed by the King, General of the Mendicant Friars.² The description of this person, according to the same authority, seems to correspond with that of a certain George Brown, who was 'Prior of Austin Friars in London' in the spring of 1533, who was in favour of Henry's divorce, and who, on Easter Day, first prayed for 'Queen Anne' from the pulpit.³

Both Hall, the historian, and Holinshed, say that the marriage was solemnised, not on January 25, 1533, but on St. Erkenwald's Day, November 14, 1532, as soon, in fact, as the King had returned from Calais. On the other hand, 'Stow's account,' says Brayley in his 'Londiniana,' is corroborated strongly by a letter of Archbishop Cranmer, quoted by Burnet, which, speaking of Queen Anne's coronation in June 1533, says : 'She was marryed much about Sainte Paule's Daye laste (January 25), as the condition thereof dothe well appere, by reason she ys now somewhat bigge with chylde.'

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his 'Memoirs,' says

¹ *Anne Boleyn*. Paul Friedmann, 1884.

² E. Chappuis to Charles V., January 28, 1535. Vienna Archives.

³ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1533.

that Archbishop Cranmer assisted at this marriage ceremony.

In the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxv. p. 119, No. vi. (1834), there is the following interesting 'Proclamation of Henry VIII. on his marriage with Queen Anne Boleyn,' in the possession of the Corporation of Norwich, communicated by Hudson Gurney, Esq., V.P., in a letter to Henry Ellis, Esq., F.R.S., Secretary :—

(Read 29th March, 1832.)

A Proclamation devised by the Kynges Hyghnes with the advyse of his counsayle, that his subjectes be warned to avoyde (in some cases) the daunger and penaltie of the Statute of Provision and Premunire.

For as muche as the unlawful matrimonie betwene the Kynges Hyghnes and the Lady Katherine, Princes Dowager, late wife to Prince Arthure, by just wayes and meanes is lawfully dissolved, and a Diverse and Separation had and done betwene his sayde Hyghnes and the said Lady Katherine, by the Moste Reverende father in GOD the Archbishop of Canterbury, Legate and Primate of all England, and Metropolitane of the same; and thereupon the Kynges Majestie hath lawfully married and taken to his wife, after the lawes of the Church, the Ryght High and excellent Princes, Lady Anne, now Quene of England, and she solempneley crowned and anoynted as apertayneth to the laude, prayse and honour of Almightye GOD, the suretie of the Kynges Succession and posterite, and to the great joy, comfort and contentation of all the subjectes of this Realme. All which premisses have groundely proceded and taken their effectes as well by the comen assent of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and the Comens of this Realme, by auctorite of Parlyament, as

also by the assent and determinations of the Hole Clergie in their severall convocations holden and kepte in bothe Provinces of this Realme and for perpayte and sure establyshment thereof it is enacted amonge other thynges, that whatsoever person or persons of what estate, degree or condition they be of, doe attempt or procure any manner proces or do or move any acte or actes to the lette or derogation of any such procedynges, sentances and determinations as is and have been done and hadde as well in and about the said Diverse, as in the solempnisation of the lawful Matrimonie had and concluded betwene the Kynges Hyghnesse and the sayde Quene Anne, shall incurre and rounne in the peynes and penalties comprised in the statute of Provision and Premunire made in the sixteenth yere of the late Kynge Richarde the Seconde, whiche is no lesse payne than the offenders to be out of the Kynges protection, and their goodes and landes to be forfeited, and their bodies imprisoned at the Kynges wyll, as by the sayde acte more at large is expressed. By reason whereof and for as moche as the sayde Diverse and Separation is now had and done, and the Kynges Hyghnesse maryed, as is before rehersed, it is therefore evident and manifeste that the sayde Lady Katherine shulde not from henseforth have or use the name, style, title or dignitie of Quene of this Realme, nor be in any wyse reputed, taken, accepted or written by the name of Quene of this Realme, but by the name, style, title and dignitie of Princes Dowager, which name she ought to have, because she was lawfully and perfectly married and accoupled with the sayd Prince Arthure. And what so ever officers, ministers, bayliffes, recevours, fermours, servatis, keepers of Parkes or chases of the sayde Princes Dowager, or any other person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition they be of, contrary to the premissis, do name, repute accept and write, or in any wyse obey the sayd Lady Katheryn by virtue of any maner of warrant or writing to them directed by the name of Quene or attempte, do,

or move any other acte or actes thyng or thynges to the lette or derogation of such doinges and procedynges, as is determined or accomplyshed, as well for the dissolution of the sayd unlawful mariage as for the solempnisation and confirmation of the sayd lawful matrimonie justly finyshed and concluded, as is above rehersed, shall and dothe playnely and manifestly incurre and renne in the sayd greate daungers and paynes comprised and specified in the sayde acte. In consideration whereof, albeit that the Kyng our most dredde Soveraygne Lorde nothyng mystrusteth his lovyng subjectes for any attempt, acte or actes, or any thyng to be done moved or spoken by them contrarye to the true meanyng of the sayde acte, and the due execution and procedynges in the premisses: yet, never the lesse, to thentent that his sayd humble and lovyng subjectes shall have playne open and manifest notice of the greatte perylles daungers and penalties comprised and specyfyed in the sayd acte, whereby they maye eschewe the daungers therof: His Majestie therefore, of his mooste gracious and benigne goodnesse, more covetyng and desiryng the good obediences and conformities of his sayde subjectis, than to be avaunced and enryched by theyr offences or contemptes, by the advyse of his sayde counsayle, hath caused this Proclamation to be made for a playne overture and publication of the premyssis; wherby, as well all and every his lovyng subjectes as others may (if they wyll) avoyde and eschewe the sayde greatte peynes, daungers, and penalties above especified. Wherunto his gracis pleasure and high commaundment is, that every person from hensforth take good heede and respecte at theyr perylles.

And yet, never the lesse, the Kynges most gracious pleasure is, that the sayde Ladye Katheryne shall be welle used, obeyed and intreted, according to her honour and noble parentage, by the name, tytle, state, and stile of Princes Dowager, as well by all hir officers, servantes, and ministers, as also by others his humble and lovyng sub-

jectes in all hir lawful busynesses and affaires: so it extende not in any wye contrary to this Proclamation.

GOD SAVE THE KYNGE.

W. BERTHELET, *Regius impressor*,
excudebat Cum Privilegio.

Shakspeare's play 'Henry VIII.' is based to a large extent upon Cavendish's life of Cardinal Wolsey, and it is at a masked banquet given by Wolsey at Whitehall, and described by Cavendish, that the dramatist represents Henry as first meeting with Anne Boleyn. This is an improvement upon history. Cavendish's own account of the matter is more vague. 'Fortune,' he says, 'brought the King in love with a gentlewoman, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn,' then only a bachelor knight, but afterwards promoted. Anne, he goes on to tell us, was sent to France, where she became one of the French Queen's women, and where she remained till the death of her Royal Mistress, after which she returned home to her father, who managed to get her appointed one of Queen Catherine's maids. In this quality she attracted the attention of Lord Percy, son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, an attendant upon Cardinal Wolsey and his servitor. When his Eminence repaired to the Court, Lord Percy would 'resort for his pastime into the Queen's Chamber, and there would fall in dalliance among the Queen's maidens, being at the last more conversant with Mistress Anne Boleyn than with any

other.' A secret love grew up between the pair, and they intended to marry, when the affair came to the knowledge of the King, who was much offended, and thus betrayed his own affection for Anne. He consulted with the Cardinal upon the subject, and his Eminence admonished Lord Percy. The Earl of Northumberland was sent for in the King's name, and a conference took place between him and Wolsey. At length a marriage was arranged between Lord Percy and one of the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughters, and he and Anne were commanded to avoid each other's company. This action of the Cardinal's greatly offended Anne Boleyn, who at the time knew nothing of the King's purpose regarding her, and who vowed that she would wreak her displeasure upon his Eminence if ever it lay in her power to do so.

It was not the fortune of Whitehall to witness the gorgeous pageants which we may be sure would have accompanied the marriage ceremonies of the next occupant of the throne. But if the Virgin Queen refused to marry, it was not for lack of being urged. In the year 1559 the Speaker and the House of Commons went in state to interview Queen Elizabeth, with a view to her Majesty's marriage, or, as Holinshed expresses it, 'to moove her Grace to marriage,' whereupon the Queen made the memorable reply : 'This shall be for mee sufficient that a marble stone shall declare that a

Queene having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgine.'

In the spring of 1581 certain Commissioners arrived at Whitehall from France to arrange a marriage between Queen Elizabeth, then in her forty-eighth year, and the Duke of Anjou, son of Queen Catherine of Medicis. Holinshed, who devotes six folio pages to an account of the whole pageant, thus describes a new Banqueting House, which had been erected for the reception of these Commissioners on the south-west side of the Palace :—

This yeare (against the coming of certain commissioners out of France into England) by hir Maiestie's appointment on the sixth and twentieth daie of March in the morning (being Easter daie) a Banketting House was begun at Westminster, on the South-west side of hir Maiestie's Palace of Whitehall, made in manner and forme of a long square, three hundred, thirtie and two foot in measure, about thirtie principles made of great masts, being forty foote in length a peece, standing upright : betwene every one of these masts ten foot asunder and more : The walles of this house were closed with canvas, and painted all the outsides of the same most artificially, with a worke called rustike, much like stone. This house had two hundred ninetie and two lights of glasse. The sides within the same house were made with ten heights of degrees for people to stand upon, and in the top of this house was wrought cunninglie upon canvas works of ivie and hollie, with pendants made of wicker rods, garnished with baie, ivie, and all manner of strange flowers, garnished with spangles of gold, as also beautified with hanging toscans made of hollie and ivie, with all manner of strange fruits, as pomegranats, oranges, pompions, cucumbers, grapes,

carrets, with such other like, spangled with gold, and most richly hanged. Betwixt these workes of baies and ivie were great spaces of canvas, which was most cunninglie painted, the cloudes with starres, the sunne and sunnebeams with diverse other cotes of sundrie sorts belonging to the Queenes Maiestie, most richly garnished with gold. There were all manner of persons, working on this house, to the number of three hundred, seventie and five; two men had mischances, the one broke his leg, and so did the other. This house was made in three weeks and three days, and was ended the eighteenth daie of Aprill; and cost one thousand, seven hundred fortie and foure pounds, nineteene shillings, and od monie, as I was credible informed by the worshipfull maister Thomas Grane, surveior unto her Majesties workes who servied and gave order for the same as appeared by record.¹

The French Embassy arrived in London about April 20, and shortly after

‘being accompanied of the nobilitie of England, they repaired to the Court and Banketting House prepared for them at Westminster, where hir Maiestie, with amiable countenance and great courtesie, received them, and afterward in that place most roiallie feasted and banketted them.’

At the time when this Embassy arrived it had been arranged that, if the Queen consented, the marriage should take place in the short space of six weeks. As things turned out, it never did take place, though the Queen herself accompanied the Duke of Anjou and his suite to Canterbury, after his second visit to England, in order that she might there bid him adieu.

‘The departure was mournful betwixt her High-

¹ Holinshed's *Chronicles*, iv. 434.

ness and Monsieur : she loth to let him go, and he as loth to depart. Her Majesty will not come to Whitehall, because the place shall not give cause of remembrance to her of him, with whom she so unwillingly parted.'¹

But in the course of years there were other brave weddings celebrated in the Palace. The marriage of Sir Philip Herbert, afterwards Earl of Montgomery, the 'memorable simpleton,' as Horace Walpole calls him, with the Lady Susan Vere, daughter of the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, took place at Whitehall on December 27, 1604, and attracted considerable attention. Sir Dudley Carleton, who has left us a very graphic description of the ceremony, says :—

'The Court was great, and for that day, put on the best bravery ; Prince Henry, and the Duke of Holst, the Queen's brother, led the bride to the Church : and the Queen followed her from thence. The King gave her, and she in her tresses and trinkets bridled and bridled it so handsomely, that the King said " If he were unmarried he would not give her, but keep her for himself." There was no small loss of chaines and jewells that night, and many great ladies were made shorter by the skirts.'²

It seems that the noblemen gave presents of plate and other objects that were valued at 2,500*l.*, the King adding a gift of 500*l.* for the bride's jointure.

¹ Letter of Lord Talbot, in Lodge. ² Winwood's *Memorials*, iii. 43.

An interesting marriage took place at Whitehall on St. Valentine's Day, February 14, 1613, after the calling of the banns in the Chapel Royal, that, namely, of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. and Frederick, fifth Count Palatine of the Rhine, Cupbearer of the Empire, who afterwards became the King of Bohemia.

The princely couple had been betrothed on December 27 of the previous year 'in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, in the presence of the King sitting in state, in this manner :—

' About two yards below the degrees of State was spread a large Turkey carpet whereon they stood when they were affianced. The nobility of Prince Charles brought him in apparelled in a black velvet cloak caped with gold lace.

' Then followed she in a black velvet gown, and a small white feather on her head, accompanied with ladies.

' After a short space came in the King, and when he was got under the State they descend to the Carpet beforesaid. Sir Thomas Lake read the formal words in the Book of Common Prayer in French, viz., "I, Frederick, take thee, Elizabeth, to my wedded wife to have and to hold from this day forward, for better for worse, &c." which he repeated verbatim. And she likewise, "I, Elizabeth, take thee, Frederick, to my wedded husband, &c." After which the Archbishop of Canterbury gave the benediction, "The God of Abraham, the God of

Isaac, the God of Jacob bless these espoused and Thy servants, &c."'¹

At the marriage ceremony, which was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury upon a raised stage in the middle of the Chapel, no one below the rank of a Baron, with the exception of the 'Lords Chief Justices,'² was allowed to be present. The Bishop of Bath and Wells gave the address at the marriage, and 100*l.* was handed over to the Sub-Dean for the choir of the Chapel Royal and the Officers of the Vestry.

'The expense,' says Jesse, quoting from books of the period, 'of the dresses and jewels lavished on the ladies who attended her, amounted to 3,914*l.*, the fitting up of her bridal chamber cost 3,023*l.*, and the expenses of the fireworks exhibited in the Gardens of Whitehall and on the banks of the Thames amounted to 7,600*l.* The total expenditure amounted to as much as 93,278*l.*'

The jewels worn at this ceremony by James I. and his Queen were reputed to be of the value of 100,000*l.*³ A temporary room was built out for the accommodation of the wedding guests at this marriage.

On December 26, 1613, the marriage of Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset (a great favourite with James I.), and Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, was solemnised at Whitehall in

¹ Notes from Heralds' Office.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Memoirs of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, by Miss Benger, i. 339

the presence of the King and Queen. Though she had lately been divorced, the bride dressed for the occasion in virgin white, her hair hanging down loosely to her waist. The ceremony was performed by Bishop Montague of Bath and Wells, and the Dean of Westminster gave the marriage address. 'The glorious day being succeeded by glorious nights, where masques and dancings had a continual motion.'¹

'This day,' writes Pepys on April 20, 1663, 'the little Duke of Monmouth was married at Whitehall in the King's chamber ; and to-night is a great supper and dancing at his lodgings² near Charing Cross. I observed his coat³ at the tail of his coach : he gives (?) the arms of England, Scotland, and France quartered upon some other fields.' The 'little Duke of Monmouth' married the Countess of Buccleuch, and on the very day of their wedding they were created Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch. The Duke took the surname of Scott.

A few years later the arrival of William, Prince

¹ *Vide* Coke.

² The Duke of Monmouth's 'lodgings near Charing Cross' were probably in Hedge Lane, now Dorset Street. The King gave his son apartments in Whitehall, and Mr. Marshall, in his work on *Tennis* (pp. 87-88), quotes from Harleian MS. 1618, vol. 224, a reference to 'charges in doing divers workes in making lodgings in the old Tennis Court at Whitehall for ye Duke of Monmouth,' June, 1664.

³ The arms granted to the Duke of Monmouth, April 8, 1665, were quarterly. On April 22, 1667, another grant was made to the Duke of the arms of Charles II. with a baton sinister arg. ; over all an inescutcheon of Scott. The present Duke of Buccleuch bears these arms quarterly.

of Orange, nephew of Charles II., caused more than ordinary festivities at the Court. The Prince was married on November 4, 1677, to the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York. The marriage, which was celebrated at Whitehall, was graced by the presence of Queen Catherine of Braganza.¹

Whitehall Chapel was also the scene of the marriage of Prince George of Denmark with another daughter of the Duke of York: the Lady Anne, afterwards Queen Anne. Evelyn, in his 'Diary,' under the date July 25, 1683, speaks thus of the bridegroom: 'He had the Danish countenance, blonde, of few words, spake French but ill, seem'd somewhat heavy, but reputed to be valiant.' The ceremony took place on July 28, 1683, under which date Evelyn writes: 'He (Prince George) was married to the Lady Anne at Whitehall. Her court and household to be modelled as the Duke's, her father, had been, and they to continue in England.'

In an old book, bound in vellum, in the Registrar-General's Office at Somerset House,² and entitled 'Chapels Royal Register—Births, Deaths, and Marriages,' the following appears on page 9:—

¹ See Strickland's *Queens of England*, v. 655.

² In the custody of the Registrar-General at Somerset House there are three volumes of licenses of special marriages, which were celebrated in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, between the years 1687 and 1807. The names of the contracting parties, however, are of no historical interest.

It is his Mat^{tyes} Pleasure that her Royall Highness Princess Anne of Denmark, do sit in his Matyes Closet at his Chappell Royall at Whitehall upon one side of his Matyes Chayre, wch might remayne in its Place and not turn'd: And that no man of what Degree or Quality howsoever, presume to come into the Closet when her Royall Highness is there, except ye Clerk of the Closet, or his Deputy to officiate there, and ye Lord Chamberlayne, and Mr. Vice Chamberlayne of his Matyes Household to stand behind the King's Chayre.

Given under my hand this 20th day of Febb., Ano. Dm. 1685, primo Jacobi 2di.

ARLINGTON.

To Thomas Donkley, Closet Keeper at ye Chappell.

Evelyn, in his 'Diary,' tells us that he witnessed the marriage of a child twelve years of age (daughter of the Lord Chamberlain for the time being) to the Duke of Grafton, a natural son of King Charles II. by Mrs. Palmer.

Another interesting marriage at Whitehall was that of the grandson of Oliver Cromwell with the daughter of Sir Robert Thornhill, which occurred in the year 1723.

September 13, 1704, is the date of the first marriage recorded as having taken place in Whitehall Banqueting House after it became a Chapel Royal; and among the marriages that have occurred in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, in modern times, are the following:—

Francis, Lord de Dunstanville, to Miss Harriet Lennox.
July 13 1824.

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William David, Viscount Stormont, to Miss Louisa Ellison. April 8, 1829.

Henry, Marquis of Waterford, to the Hon. Louisa Stuart, daughter of Baron Stuart de Rothsay; John, Archbishop of Armagh performing the ceremony. June 8, 1842.

Lord Colville, of Culross, to the Hon. Cecile Katherine Mary Carington, daughter of Robert John, Lord Carington. June 16, 1853.

George Henry, Earl of Mount Charles, eldest son of Francis Nathaniel, Marquis Conyngham, to the Lady Jane St. Maur Blanche Stanhope, daughter of Charles, Earl of Harrington. June 17, 1854.

William Henry Berkeley Portman, M.P. (present Viscount Portman), to the Hon. Mary Selina Charlotte Wentworth Fitzwilliam, daughter of Viscount Milton. June 21, 1855.

Sir Robert Peel to the Lady Emily Hay, daughter of George, Marquis of Tweeddale. January 17, 1856.

Francis John Savile Foljambe to the Lady Gertrude Emily Acheson, daughter of Archibald, Earl of Gosford. February 20, 1856.

Archibald Campbell, Esq. (present Lord Blythswood), to the Hon. Augusta Clementine Carington, daughter of Robert John, Lord Carington. June 7, 1864.

George William Francis, Marquis of Tavistock, M.P., eldest son of the Duke of Bedford, to the Lady Adeline Marie Somers Cocks, daughter of Charles, Earl Somers. October 24, 1876.

Charles Robert, Lord Carington, to the Hon. Cecilia Margaret Harbord, daughter of Charles, Lord Suffield. At this wedding T.R.H. Prince of Wales and Duke of Cambridge were present and signed the Register Book. July 16, 1878.

George Manners, Lord Hastings, to the Hon. Elisabeth Evelyn Harbord, daughter of Charles, Lord Suffield. At this wedding the Prince of Wales and Duke of Teck were present and signed the Register Book. April 17, 1880.

The last wedding celebrated in Whitehall Chapel was that of Mr. E. A. Morris to Miss Mary Emily Puleston, daughter of Sir John H. Puleston, M.P., on July 2, 1889.

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The subject of the Marriages at Whitehall thus forms an important chapter in the history of the Palace; and the subject of the deaths that occurred there forms another chapter of at least equal importance. Information about the births and baptisms that took place there is much more scanty. In the three volumes of 'Licenses of Special Marriages at Whitehall,' in the custody of the Registrar-General at Somerset House, to which reference has already been made, there are, however, also records of births and baptisms that occurred at Whitehall between the years 1647 and 1709.¹ 'There was no precedent,' Mary Beatrice of Modena declared on a certain interesting occasion, 'of any Queen having been confined at Whitehall.' We must be content, then, to credit the 'ancient palace of Whitehall' with having been the birthplace of Lady Jersey, one of Queen Anne's bedchamber ladies. She was the only daughter of William Chiffinch, Closet Keeper to Charles II.

¹ These records were transferred from the Bishop of London's Registry under the provisions of 3 and 4 Vict. cap. 92. (These Registers and Records have no statutory authority, and 'certified copies are not given under seal, but are authenticated by signature only.')

Among the recent Baptisms in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, are those of—

The Hon. Rupert Carrington, son of Lord and Lady Carrington, on February 24, 1853.

Miss Victoria Alexandrine Julian Peel, daughter of Sir Robert and Lady Emily Peel, on January 24, 1866.

The present Sir Robert Peel, Bart., on June 8, 1867.

Miss Evelyn Emily Peel, daughter of Sir Robert and Lady Emily Peel, on January 18, 1869.

Miss Agnes Helen Peel, daughter of Sir Robert and Lady Emily Peel, on April 13, 1870.

Miss Gwendoline Cecilia Peel, daughter of Sir Robert and Lady Emily Peel, on May 8, 1872.

Lady Marjorie Cecilia Carrington, daughter of Earl and Countess Carrington, on May 24, 1880.

Lady Gwendolen Florence Mary Onslow, daughter of Earl and Countess of Onslow, on August 18, 1881.

Hon. Joceline Charles William Savile Foljambe, son of Lord and Lady Hawkesbury, on November 28, 1882.

Lady Ruperta Carrington, daughter of Earl and Countess Carrington, on August 18, 1883.

CHAPTER XX

DEATHS WITHIN THE PALACE

THE first death of any importance that took place in Whitehall after it had become a Royal Palace was that of Henry VIII., who passed away there at an advanced age, and almost deserted, on Thursday, January 28, 1547.

'Thursday,' wrote Aubrey, 'was a fatal day to Henry VIII., and so also to his posterity. He died on Thursday, January 28; King Edward VI. on Thursday, July 6; Queen Mary on Thursday, November 17, and Queen Elizabeth on Thursday, March 24.'¹

It seems to have been a difficult matter to find any one willing to inform the King that his end was near. 'The physicians, on the approach of certain symptoms, wished his courtiers—friends he had none—to warn him of his state; but they all hung back in a fright, like unarmed men in the presence of a wounded and dying beast of prey.'² At length, however, Sir Anthony Denny undertook the delicate task, and the King was induced to see Archbishop

¹ Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*.

² *Pictorial History of England*, Book vi. p. 451.



THE PALACE OF WHITEHALL.

(From an Engraving in the British Museum, after a Drawing by Hollar in the Pepysian Library.)

Cranmer, who arrived to find him speechless if not unconscious. His Grace begged the King to prove to him and to others that he was dying in the faith of Christ, upon which Henry grasped his hand, expiring almost immediately afterwards. His last two acts, it may be remembered, were to send Surrey, the poet, and his father, the Duke of Norfolk, to the scaffold.

The ceremonies in connection with the burial of the King were of the most elaborate kind, but only those relating to the removal of the body from Whitehall to Windsor, where the interment took place, concern us.

The following description of what actually occurred at that time is taken from Leake's 'Ceremonials' (vol. ii. p. 300), at the Heralds' Office.

After the Corps was cold and seen by the Lords of his Privy Councill and others, the Nobility of his Realm as appertained, commandment was given to the Apothecarys, Surgeons, Wax Chaundlers, and others to do their duties in spunging, cleaning, bowelling, searing, embawming, furnyshyng and dressing with spices the said Corps, also for wrapping the same in seare cloaths of many sortes over the fyne cloath of Naynes and velvet surely bound and tramelled with cords of silk which was done and executed by them accordingly as to the dignity of such a mighty Prince appertayneth, and a wryting annexed against the Breast containing his name and style, the day and yere of his death. After this done, the Plommer and Carpenter appointed to case him in lede and to chest him, which being done the said Chest was covered about with blew velvet and a Cross sett upon the same. And the

Corps being thus ordered, the Entrayls and Bowells were honourably buried in his Chapel within the said place with all manner of ceremonies thereunto done by the Deane and Ministers of the said Chapell.

Then was the Corps in the Chest had into the midst of his privy Chamber and set upon tressels with a rich pall of Cloath of gold and a Cross thereon, with all manner of lights thereto requisite, having divine service about him with Masses, obsequies and prayers, and continually watche being made by his Chapelrys Ordinary and Gent: of his Privy Chamber to the number of 30 persons. Besydes the Chaplains continuing about him in their orders and Courses night and day during the time of his abode there which was five days, and in the meantime all things in ye Chapell and for the preparing of the hearse in the same was continually a doing as hereafter shall be declared.

On the 3rd of February between 9 and 10 before noon the mourners assembled in the Pallet Chamber in mourning apparrell their hods on their hedds, and thence were conveyed to the Chapell, where Masse was said. After the Masse was ended the prelates came from the aultar to the hearse and senced the Corps and returned to the Vestry, and the Mourners departed, conducted in order as aforesaid to the Chamber of Presence where was prepared a sumptuous dinner, and the Chief Mourner served with assays and all other Service, as yf that had been the Kynge Majesty personally present.

On Sunday the 13th of Febr'y, when the Body was removed from the Chapell to the Chariot over the coffin was cast a pall of rich cloath of gold, and upon it a goodly ymage like to the Kyng's person in all poynts, wonderfully richly apparrelled with velvet gold and precious stones of all sorts, holding in ye right hand a Sceptre of gold, in the left hand the ball of the world with a crosse: upon the head a crown imperial of inestimable value, a collar of the Garter about the neck and a garter of gold about the leg, with this being honourably conducted as

aforesaid, was tied upon the said coffin by the Gentlemen of his privy Chamber upon rich cushions of cloath of gold and fast bound with silk ribbands to the pillars of the said Chariot for removing.

On February 14, 'the wax figure was ready,' quotes Loftie, and the procession, which, Sandford tells us, was four miles long, started for Windsor.

The next important death that occurred in Whitehall was that of Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England, who expired at midnight, November 13, 1555. When dying he was heard to exclaim : 'I have sinned : I have not wept with Peter.'

Three years later, in the same month, Queen Mary breathed her last in Whitehall Palace.

In the Heralds' Office there is an order of the interment and funeral of Elizabeth, wife to William Parre, Marquis of Northampton, who died in the Court at Whitehall on April 2, 1565.

After Queen Elizabeth's death, which occurred at Richmond on March 24, 1603, her body was brought to Whitehall, where it remained till April 28, when it was conveyed in great state to the Cathedral Church at Westminster. From a 'Book of Ceremonials' (No. 2) at the Heralds' Office we read that on the removal of the body the following was the order of the procession :—

Knight Marshalls men to make way
Fifteen poor men of Westminster
260 poor women 4 and 4
Servants of Gentlemen, Esquires Knights.

2 Porters

4 Trumpetts

Rouge rose, Phillip Holland

Two Serjeants at Arms.

The Standard of the Dragon borne by St. George Borschier
Then two Querries leading a horse cover'd with check cloath (and
Scochions of the Royal Arms within the Garter crown'd 2 on the
trappings on each side and one upon his face)

Messengers of the Chamber four and four

Children of the Almondry, woodyard, Skullery

Children and Turners of Pastry, Scalding House, Larder

Grooms of the Wheat Porters 4 and 4. Wine porters

Conducts in the Backhouse, Bellringer, Maker of spice baggs,

Cartakers chosen by the bord,

Almery, Stable, Woodyard, Skullery,

Pastry, Scalding House Poultry, Boiling

House, Lardoar, Kitchin Laundry, Ewry,

Confectionaris Wafry, Chaundry, Pitcher house,

Buttery seller, Pantry Bakehouse, Counting House.

Noblemen's Servants

Embassadors Servants

Grooms of the Chamber

Four Trumpetts

Blew mantle, Mercury Paten

Two Serjeants at Arms

The Standard of the Greyhound borne by Mr. Philip Herbert
brother to the Earl of Pembroke
passant Collard Or

Two Querries leading of another (like) horse

Yeoman of the servitors of the hall, Cartakers

Porters Almondry Harbingers, woodyard, Skullery Pastry

Poultry, Skalding House.

Purveyors of the Poultry

Purveyors of the Achaterly,

Stable Boyling House, Larder, Kitchen

Ewry Confectionary Wafery Purveyor of Wax

Tallow Chaundler Chaundry Pitcher house

Brewers, Buttery Purveyors Seller Pantry Bakehouse

Counting House Spicery Chambe Robes Wardrobes.

Earles and Countesses Servants

Four Trumpeters

Portcullis. Samuel Thompson

A Serjeant at Arms.

The Standard of the Lion borne by Mr. Thomas Somerset
Two other Querries leading horse as before

Trapped with black velvet
The Serjeant of the Vestry
Children and Gentlemen of the Chapel in Copes 4 and 4
Deputy Clerk of the Market
Clerks Extraordinary
Clerks of the Cofferer, Diett, Mr. Cook of ye Household,
Pastry, Larder, Scullery, woodyard, Poultry,
Bakehouse Achatry, Stable
The Gentleman Harbinger
Serjeants of the Woodyard, Poultry, Skullery,
Pastry Catery Larder Ewry Seller Pantry
Bakehouse.
Master Cook of the Kitchen
Clerkes of the Esquirie
Second and 3rd Clerk of the Chaundry
Second and 3rd Clerk of the Kitchen
Supervisers of the Dresser
Surveyor of the Dresser for the Chamber
Musicians
Apothecarys and Chirurgeons
Servers of the Hall
Marshal of the Hall
Servers of the Chamber
Groom Porters
Gentleman Ushers, Quarter waiters
Clark Marshal and Almoner
Chief Clark of the Wardrobe
Chief Clark of the Kitchen
Two Clerks Contrrollers
Clerk of the Green Cloth
Master of the Household
Cofferer
Rouge dragon, William Smith
Two Serjeants at Arms
The Banner of Chester, borne by Lord Zouch
Clerks of the Counsell
Clerks of the Privy Seal
Clerks of the Signet
Clerks of the Parliament
Doctors of Physick
Chaplens to the Queen
Secretarys of the Latin and French tongues
Rouge Croix, Thomas Knight
2 Serjeants at Arms
The Banner of Cornwall by the Lord Herbert

Eldest son of the Earl of Worcester.
 Aldermen of London
 Solicitor Attorney and Serjeant
 Master of the Revells
 Master of the Tents
 Knights Bachelors
 Lord Chief Baron and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas
 Master of the Jewel House
 Knight Embassadors and Gentlemen Agents
 Servers for the Queen
 Servers for the Body
 Esquires of the Body
 Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber
 Lancaster Francis Thinne
 The Banner of Wales borne by the Viscount Bindow.
 The Lord Mayor of London
 Masters of Requests
 Agents for Venice, and States
 Lord Chief Justice and Master of the Wardrobe
 Sir Robert Cecill principal Secretary
 Controller and Measurer of the Household
 Windsor Richard St. George
 The Banner of Ireland borne by the Earl of Clanricard
 Barons
 Bishops
 Earles Eldest Sons
 Viscounts
 Dukes Second Sons
 Earles
 Marquisses
 The preacher, being Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester
 Lord Keeper and Archbishop of Canterbury
 French Ambassador
 4 Serjeants at Arms
 The Great Embroidered Banner of England
 Somerset Robert Preswell and Richmond John Raven
 York Ralph Brook with helm and Crest
 Chester James Thomas with the jarge
 Norroy—William Legar with the Sword
 Clarenceux William Camden with the Coat of Arms
 having on each side of him a Gentleman Usher with
 a white Rod.
 Four horses which draw the Chariot whereon
 the Coffin cover'd with purple velvet, and upon
 that the Representation of her Majestie

A Canopy borne over it by six Knights

Six Bannerettes borne by
six Barons.

3 Earles Assistants

Gentlemen Pensioners
with their Axes
downward.

Footmen.

The Earl of Worcester Master of the Horse leading
the Palfrey of Estate

2 Esquires and a Groome attending to lead him away.

Garter

Principal King of Arms.

Sir William Dethicke

Chief Mourner

The Lady Marchioness of Northampton

assisted by

Lord Treasurer and Lord Admiral

Her Trayne borne by two Countesses assisted

by Sir John Stanhope, Vice Chamberlain

Fourteen Countesses Assistants

Countesses

Viscountesses

Earls Daughters

Baronesses

Maid of Honour of the Privy Chamber

The Captain of the Guard

All the Guard following

5 and 5 in a Rank.



Six Bannerettes borne by
six Barons.

3 Earles Assistants

Gentlemen Pensioners
with their Axes
downward.

Footmen.

Taylor, bargeman to Charles I., the 'Water Poet,' as he was called, wrote the following lines upon the subject of the removal of Queen Elizabeth's body to Whitehall :—

The Queen was brought by water to Whitehall,
At every stroke the oars did tears let fall ;
More clung about the barge ; fish under water
Wept out their eyne of pearl, and swam blind after.

I think the bargemen might, with easier thighs,
Have rowed hir hither in hir people's eyes ;
For howsoever thus much my thoughts have scanned,
She had come by water, had she come by land.

Cromwell, who had been seized with his fatal illness whilst at Hampton Court, breathed his last at Whitehall on September 3, 1658.

In our chapter on 'Oliver Cromwell' we have already made some reference to this occasion. 'Many ministers,' says Ludlow, 'assembled in a Chamber at Whitehall, praying for him, whilst he manifested so little remorse of conscience for his betraying the publick cause and sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people, whom he had so manifestly despised.'¹

Henry Duke of Gloucester, fourth son of Charles I., who was born July 8, 1640, died at Whitehall, of small-pox, on Thursday, September 13, 1660, at 9 P.M. 'The next day a councill was called and consideration had of disposing his body, and both because it was not fit that any dead corpse should remain in his Majestie's house and that his Royal Highnesse died of small-pox it was ordered that his body should be instantly embalmed and carried to Somerset House and placed in the Privy

¹ *Memorials of Edmund Ludlow, 1625-1672.*

Chamber there.'¹ Thence it was carried to Westminster and buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

In these 'Books of Ceremonials' (vol. ii.) at the Heralds' Office, to which reference has so often been made, we read that Mary Princess of Orange, the eldest daughter of Charles I., died at Whitehall on December 24, 1660. Her body, like that of her brother, was conveyed from the Palace to Somerset House, placed in the Privy Chamber there, and subsequently carried to Westminster Abbey, where it was interred privately on Saturday night, December 29.

Three other deaths of importance occurred at Whitehall in Charles II.'s reign; those, namely, of Hugh Pollard, Comptroller of the Household, on November 27, 1666; of George Monk, Earl of Albemarle, on January 3, 1670, and of Mrs. Godolphin, formerly Maid of Honour to the Queen, on September 8, 1678.

On Saturday, February 6, 1685, King Charles II. himself expired at Whitehall, having received extreme unction at the hands of Father Hudleston, who, according to Brayley, 'had assisted in his escape from Worcester.' That his Majesty's illness was quite unexpected may be gathered from the following passage in Evelyn's 'Diary':—

'I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday

¹ *Books of Ceremonials*, vol. ii. (Heralds' Office).

evening), which this sennight I was witnesse of, the King sitting and toying with his Concubines, Portsmouth, Cleaveland and Mazarine, &c., and a French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great Courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset, round a large table, a bank of at least 2,000*l.* in gold before them : upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment—six days after was all in dust.’

The Rev. F. Roper, at one time Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely, who also attended the King in his last moments, enters into fuller details, and presents the dying Sovereign in an amiable light. The following is his account of the scene :—

‘ He often, in the extremity of pain, would say he suffered, but thanked God that he did so, and that he suffered patiently. He every now and then would seem to wish for death, and beg the pardon of the standers by and those that were employed about him that he gave so much trouble : that he hoped the work was almost over : he was weary of this world : he had enough of it and was going to a better. There was so much affection and tenderness expressed between the two royal brothers, the one upon the bed, the other almost drowned in tears upon his knees, and kissing of his dying brother’s hand, as could not but extremely move the standers by.’¹

Interesting details of the King’s illness and the

¹ Ellis’s *Original Letters*, iii. 335.

medical treatment he received are to be read in Evelyn's 'Diary.' Here is an extract :—

'I went to London hearing his Majesty had been the Monday before (February 2) surprised in his bed-chamber with an apoplectic fit, so that if, by God's providence, Dr. King (that excellent Chirurgeon as well as Physician) had not been accidentally present to let him blood (having his lancet in his pocket) his Majesty had certainly died that moment, which might have been of direful consequence, there being nobody else present with the King, save this doctor and one more, as I am assur'd. It was a mark of the extraordinary dexterity, resolution, and presence of mind in the Doctor to let him blood in the very paroxysm without staying the coming of other physicians, which regularly should have been done, and for want of which he must have a regular pardon, as they tell me.¹ This rescu'd his Majesty for the instant, but it was only a short reprieve. He still complained and was relapsing, often fainting, with sometimes epileptic symptoms, till Wednesday, for which he was cupp'd, let bloud in both jugulars, had both vomit and purges which so reliev'd him that on Thursday hopes of his recovery were signified in the publiq Gazette ; but that day about noone, the physicians thought him feaverish. This they seem'd glad of, as being more easily allay'd and methodically

¹ The Privy Council not only approved the course pursued, but ordered him 1,000*l*. He was, however, never paid this sum. (Burnet, ii. 1010.)

dealt with than his former fits : so as they prescrib'd the famous Jesuits powder : but it made him worse and some very able doctors who were present did not think it a fever, but the effect of his frequent bleeding and other sharp operations us'd by them about his head, so that probably the powder might stop the circulation, and renew his former fits, which now made him very weake. Thus he pass'd Thursday night with greate difficulty, when complaining of a pain in his side, they drew twelve ounces more of bloud from him ; this was by six in the morning on Friday, and it gave him reliefe, but it did not continue, for being now in much paine, and struggling for breath, he lay dozing, and after some conflicts, the physitians despairing of him, he gave up the Ghost at halfe an houre after eleven in the morning ; being the 6th of February, 1685, in the thirty-sixth yeare of his reigne, and fifty-fourth of his age.'

'The morning light,' writes Macaulay in his brilliant description of these last hours of the second Charles, 'began to peep through the windows of Whitehall ; and Charles desired the attendants to pull aside the curtains, that he might have one more look at the day. He remarked that it was time to wind up a clock which stood near his bed. These little circumstances were long remembered because they proved beyond dispute that when he declared himself a Roman Catholic, he was in full possession of his faculties. He apologised to those who had stood round him all night for the trouble which he had caused. He had been, he said, a most unconscionable time dying, but he hoped that they would excuse it. This

was the last glimpse of that exquisite urbanity so often found potent to charm away the resentment of a justly incensed nation. Soon after dawn the speech of the dying man failed. Before ten his senses were gone. Great numbers had repaired to the Churches at the hour of morning service. When the prayer for the King was read loud groans and sobs showed how deeply his people felt for him. At noon on Friday, the sixth of February, he passed away without a struggle.¹

Almost the last words uttered by the King were : ' Do not let poor Nelly starve.'

At the private interment of Charles II. the body was embalmed, put in a lead coffin covered with velvet and gilt clasps with a plate on the top—'as was the Bowells in a box'—and privately carried by water from Whitehall to Westminster.

Evelyn goes on to say :—

' There came over divers envoyes and greate persons to condole the death of the late King, who were receiv'd by the Queene Dowager on a bed of mourning, the whole chamber, cieling and floore hung with black, and tapers were lighted, so as nothing could be more lugubrious and solemne. The Queene Consort sat under a state of a black footcloth to entertaine the Circle (as the Queene us'd to do) and that very decently.'

From a ' Book of Ceremonials' (vol. ii. page 259) at the Heralds' Office, we extract the following

¹ Clarke's *Life of James II.*, i. 746. Barillon's Despatch of Feb. 1685. Huddleston's *Narrative : Letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield*, 277, &c., &c.

account of 'The proceeding to the funeral of her late most excellent Majesty, Mary II. of blessed memory, from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, on Tuesday March 5, 1694-5.'

Knight Marshalls men to clear the way
 Knight Marshalls Deputy
 Servant to the Officers of Arms, viz. Francis Franklin
 with his staff
 Three hundred poor Women in mourning gowns and hoods
 four and four
 A Fife appointed, but absent being sick
 Two Drums
 The Banner of Union, borne by a Knight, Sir Phillip Meadows
 Pages and Grooms of the Chamber
 Officers of the Stable
 Housekeepers
 Officers of the Robes and Wardrobes
 Gentlemen of the Chapel and Vestry, and Children of ye Chapel
 singing all the way
 Two drums
 The Drum Major
 Officers of the Jewell House
 Officers and Comptroller of the Works
 Sewers of the Chamber
 Gentlemen Ushers Quarter Wayters
 Three Trumpetts
 Chaplains to the King and Queen
 Aldermen of London
 Surveyor General of the Works viz. Sir Christopher Wren Kt.
 Three Trumpetts
 Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber to the King and Queen
 Sewers—Carvers—Cupbearers
 The Queen's Secretary and Treasurer
 Knight Harbinger and Master of the Jewell House
 Lord Mayor of London without his Mace
 Three Trumpetts
 Robert Dale, Blanch Lyon and Hugh Clopton, Rouge dragon
 The House of Commons in long cloaks two and two
 Serjeant at Armes to the House of Commons with his Mace
 Speaker of the House of Commons with his Trayne borne
 Peter Le Neue, Laud Cromp, John Gibbon, Peers Mauduit.
 Rouge Croix—Portcullis—Bloumantle—Windsor

The house of Peers in their Robes 2 and 2
 Serjeant at Armes to the house Gent. Usher of the Black Rod,
 of Peers with his Mace with the black rod
 Speaker of the house of Peers with his Trayne borne

Three Trumpetts

An Officer of Armes, viz. Charles Mawson Chester

The Banner of Ches- ter borne by the Lord Spencer eld- est son to the Earl of Sunderland	The Banner of Wales borne by the Vis- count Longueville in his robes as all the other Peers of England were that attended	The Banner of Corn- wall borne by the Lord Willoughby of Eresby eldest son to the Earl of Lindsey
--	---	--

The Banner of Ire-
land borne by the
Earle of Mont-
rath

The Banner of Scot-
land borne by the
Earle of Selkirk

Kettle Drums

Four Trumpets

Serjeant Trumpet with his Mace

An Officer of Armes, viz. Gregory King Lancaster

The Banner of France and England Quar- terly borne by the Earle of Stamford	The Great Banner borne by the Earles of Suffolk and Bridgewater	The Banner of Eng- land borne by the Earle of Denbigh
--	--	---

The Queen's Master of the horse, the Lord Viscount
 Villiers leading the Mourning Horse, covered with purple
 velvet, and adorned with Scochions, Starrs and Badges

and two Equerries (with their Capps) attending

The Helmet and Crest borne by Francis Burghill

Somerset

The Target, and Sword, by Henry Dethick, Richmond

The Coat of Arms by Robert Devenish York, Norroy
 being absent

Clarenceux King of Arms, viz. St. Henry St.

George between two Gentlemen Ushers

The Queen's Lord Chamberlain, viz.

The Marquis of Winchester

Six Banner- ettes viz. K. Henry 2, and Elea- nor of Ac- quitaine Borne by	Three Peers Assistants to the Corps or Sup- porters of the Pall	The Body in an open Chariot drawne by 8 Horses, a man lead- ing each	Three Peers Assistants to the Corps or Sup- porters of the Pall.	Six Banner- ettes viz. K. Edward 1, and Elea- nor of Cas- tile, borne by Sir
---	--	--	---	--

Sir Thomas
Parkyns
Bart.

K. Edward
the Second
and Isabell
of France
by Sir W.
Roberts,
Bart.

K. Henry 7,
& Elizabeth,
daughter of
K. Edward
IVth. by
Sir W. Rus-
sell, Bart.

King James
V. and
Mary of
Guise by
Sir Dennis
Hampton,
Bart.

K. James I.
and Anne
of Denmark
by Sir D.
Colepiper,
Bart.

King's
Father and
Mother by
Sir Will.
Villiers,
Bart.

with the
Scepters
orb and
crown upon
a purple
velvett
cushion, two
of the
Ladies of
the Queen's
bedcham-
ber sitting
one at the
head & the
other at the
feet to take
care of the
body.

Francis
Head, Bart.

K. Edward
III. and
Philippa of
Hainault by
Sir Edward
Ward, Bart.

K. James IV.
and Mar-
garet of
England by
Sir Stephen
Lennard,
Bart.

Lord Darn-
ley and
Mary
Queen of
Scotts by
Sir Wm.
Reresby,
Bart.

K. Charles I.
and Hen-
rietta Maria
of France
by Sir
Clement
Fisher,
Bart.

The King
and Queen,
by Sir John
Cape, Bart.

Earl of
Derby

Marq. of
Normanby.

D. of Somers-
sett.

Earl of Kent

D. of North-
umberland

D. of Nor-
folk.



Garter Principall King of Arms, viz. Sir Thos. St. George Kt.
 between 2 Gentlemen Ushers, Daily Weyters.

The Earl of Pem-	The Chief Mourner	The Duke of
broke Lord	The Dutchesse of Somersett	Leeds, Lord
Privy Seale, a	supported by two Noblemen	President, a
Supporter.	Her trayne borne by 2 Dutchesses, viz.	Supporter.

Dutchesse of S. Albans, Dutchesse of Southampton
 Eighteen Assistants to the Chief Mourner, viz.
 Dutchesse of Devon and Dutchesse of Leeds,
 Countesse of Bridgewater and Oxford,
 Countesse Dowager of Winchelsea and Countesse Dowager of
 Northampton,
 Countesse Dowager of Thanet &
 Countesse of Carnarvan Sandwich and Sunderland
 Countesse Dowager of Radnor &
 Countesse of Macclesfield, Monmouth and Dorchester
 Lady Howard of Effingham & Lady Eliz. Cromwell, daughter & heir
 to E. of Adglass
 Baronesse Weston
 Countesse of Arran and Lady Rockingham.

A Gentleman Usher, Mr. Oules. Dr. Robt. Platt Mowbray herald Extr.
 The Ladies of the Bedchamber, viz.
 The Countesse of Derby, Groom of the State going first alone
 Marchionesse of Winchester, Marchionesse of Hallifax
 Countesse of Scarborough, Countesse of Plymouth
 Countesse of Nottingham
 A Gentleman Usher
 Six Maids of Honour
 Six Bedchamber Women or Dressers

The Band of Pensioners who ought to have gone on each side of the
 body if the way had permitted.
 Yeomen of the Guard.

To the list of important deaths that occurred at
 this Palace must be added that of Archbishop
 Tenison of Canterbury, who was seized with a fit
 when in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, and expired
 on November 22, 1694 ; and that of Vanburgh, the
 playwright and architect, of whom we have previously
 spoken. He breathed his last at Whitehall on
 March 26, 1726.

CHAPTER XXI

CEREMONIES, CREATIONS, AND DOMESTIC DETAILS.

WE have already had occasion to describe or incidentally to quote descriptions of several of the most striking celebrations and observances that have occurred in the history of Whitehall. In the present chapter we propose to enumerate some of the pomps and ceremonies with which we have not yet dealt at length.

On All Hallows Day, in the year 1527, Cardinal Wolsey gave a magnificent banquet to Henry VIII. and the French Embassy at Whitehall. Over eighty persons were present, and among them were the Mareschal de Montmorency (Grand Master), the Bishop of Bayonne, the President of Rouen, and Monsieur d'Humiers. The entertainment took place upon the return of the company from St. Paul's Cathedral, where the Cardinal, 'assisted by twenty-four Bishops and Mitred Abbots, had solemnised Mass with extraordinary pomp, in confirmation of the treaty for the perpetual peace and amity which he had himself negotiated with Francis the First at Amiens in the preceding August.'¹ Cavendish

¹ Brayley's *Londiniana*.

states that 'after the last Agnus the Cardinal, as a firm oath and assurance of this perpetual peace, gave the Blessed Sacrament to the King and the Grand Master of France (the Mareschal de Montmorency) as they knelt together at the high altar.'

Soon after Wolsey's fall and retirement from Whitehall the King received a deputation from the House of Commons, the House having, it would seem, proposed measures 'tending,' in Cavendish's words, 'to the destruction of the Church from a lacke of faith.' This roused the disapproval of Bishop Fisher.

Thomas Audley, the Speaker, and thirtie of the chief of the Common-house came to the Kynge's presence in his Palace at Westminster, which before was called Yorke Place, and there very eloquently declared what a dishonour to the Kynge and the Realme it was to say that they, which were elected for the wysest men of all the shires, cities and boroughes within the realme of England, should be declared in so noble and open presence to lacke faith.¹

The King thereupon demanded an explanation from the Bishop, whose 'blind answer,' as Hall calls it, 'pleased the Commons nothing at all.'

In the year 1532 there was a muster 'of all men within the City and Liberties between the age of sixteen and sixty,' but only those were chosen who, according to Holinshed, had 'white harness and white caps and feathers.' Most of the citizens

¹ Hall's *Chronicle*, pp. 178, 179.

indeed, whatever their position, were habited in white silk or satin shoes, and wore rich jewels. They mustered in Mile End and then marched in order to Westminster, where the King inspected them.

On May 8, 1539, the King reviewed upwards of 15,000 citizens from the gallery of Whitehall Palace, the review, according to Brayley, being 'a preparatory step against the invasion threatened by the Catholic Potentates.' The citizens included pikemen and archers as well as billmen.

On February 22, 1553, 'all the Kent men went to the Court with halters about their necks and bound with cords, two and two together, through London to Westminster, and between the two Tilts the poor prisoners kneeled down in the mire: and there the Queen's Grace looked out over the Gate and gave them all pardon, and they cried out "God save Queen Mary."¹

On April 24, 1557, in Queen Mary's reign, Osep Napea, who at that time was visiting this country as Ambassador from the Emperor of Russia, was present at an Installation of the Order of the Garter in Whitehall Chapel. In the same reign Thomas Percy was created Earl of Northumberland on May 1, 1557, at Whitehall; and Edward Hastings, K.G., and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, was created Baron Hastings of Loughborough.

We now come to the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

¹ Sir W. Besant's *Westminster*, 1895.

Holinshed, when describing her first Parliament, which took place in 1559, writes :—

On Wednesdaie the five and twentieth of Januarrie the Parlement began, the Queene's Maiestie riding in hir Parlement robes from hir Palace of Whitehall unto the Abbeie Church of Westminster, with the Lords Spirituall and Temporall attending hir, likewise in their Parlement robes.

From the ' Domestic State Papers ' at the Record Office, we learn that on August 12, 1594, an attempt was made to steal the Queen's jewels and plate from Whitehall. The courage of one of the thieves failed him in the course of the attempt, and he cried out. Thereupon he was wounded by one of his companions, who would have slain him had he not promised to keep their counsel.

Six years later Lord Treasurer Buckhurst and other high officials were commissioned to sell such of her Majesty's plate and jewels as were ' unserviceable from decay, imperfection, or being out of fashion.' The silver and gold were to be reserved for the coinage, and handed over to the Warden of the Mint by the master of the Jewel House in the Tower and Sir Thomas Knyvett, keeper of Whitehall Palace. In addition to this the ladies of the Privy Chamber and all the lords and ladies and others in the Queen's service who had any of her jewels in custody were to be called upon to produce them, in order that their state might be known and their defects observed, so that ' her

servants be not hereafter unduly charged concerning them.’¹

Lord Herbert of Cherbury gives the following amusing account of his introduction to Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall :—

Not long after this, curiosity rather than ambition brought me to Court, and as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the Great Queen Elizabeth who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the Presence Chamber when she passed by to the Chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me she stopt, and, swearing her usual oath, demanded ‘Who is this?’ Everybody there present looked upon me, but no man knew me till Sir James Croft, a Pensioner, finding the Queen stayed, turned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of Gillian’s daughter : the Queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and swearing again her ordinary oath, said it is a pity he was married so young, and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek.²

Towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign, on November 22, 1598, we read in the ‘Calendar of State Papers’ at the Record Office, that the Queen ‘is come to Whitehall, and was received a mile out of town by the Lord Mayor and his brethren with 400 velvet coats and chains of gold.’

In his reign (on December 26, 1561), Lord Amorose Dudley was created Earl of Warwick and Baron Lisle.

When James ascended the throne he was pro-

¹ *Domestic State Papers*, Record Office.

² *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*.

claimed King, among other places, in front of the Palace by Sir Robert Cecil. Bishop Burnet, differing from Welwood and Dr. Calamy, says that the proclamation was not only read in silence, but also that 'there were no tears for the last King and no shouts for the present one.' Soon after his accession James conferred knighthood upon 300 persons, one of whom was the great Bacon, in the gardens of Whitehall Palace: and 'before the year went about,' he bestowed this honour upon 'God knows how many hundreds.'¹ According to Winwood, indeed, knighthood in this reign was so little thought of that 'Lady Elizabeth's followers' were allowed, on the day before the wedding, 'to put themselves in equipage by keeping as it were an open market to all comers for 150*l.* a man.'

When Prince Charles, at the age of four years, was created Duke of York and a Knight of the Bath, on the festival of the Epiphany, January 6, 1604, at Whitehall, his esquires being the Earls of Oxford and Essex, a golden coronet was placed on his head, a golden verge in his hand, and a sword was girded on to his side.

There was a public dinner in the Great Chamber, where there was one table for the Duke and his Earls assistants, another for his fellow knights of the Bath. At night we had the Queen's Mask in the Banqueting House, or rather her Pageant, which was succeeded by a Ball at which the

¹ *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 402 (edit. 1730).

Queen was 'taken out' by the Spanish Ambassador, and concluded with a magnificent banquet.¹

Later on in the year 1604, lodgings at Whitehall were provided for the use of Prince Charles. Formerly they had been occupied by Sir Thomas Knyvett, who was granted 20*l.* per annum for life for giving them up.

In 1606 the Queen's brother, Christian, King of Denmark, came on a visit to this country, and Whitehall again became the scene of endless revelry and entertainment.

On July 2, 1608, we read that a warrant was issued from Westminster to pay 'William Segar, Garter King at Arms, 7*l.* each St. George's Eve for setting up escutcheons of arms of the Knights of the Garter at the Palace of Whitehall or elsewhere where St. George's Feast may be solemnised.'

When Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales at Whitehall, on June 12, 1610, banquets, balls, and entertainments of various kinds were given at the Palace. The festivities, which lasted for three nights in succession, included a 'tilting match, a gallant sea fight, and many rare and excellent fireworks, which were seen by almost half a million of people.'

When Prince Henry was in his 16th year the Principality of Wales and the Duchy of Cornwall were granted to him by Parliament, and on June 12, 1610, in the evening,

¹ Winwood's *Memorials*. Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. Winwood, dated January, 1604.

'Barriers' were held at Whitehall in the presence of the King and Queen. The Ambassadors of Spain and Venice and the Court assembled in the Banqueting House. These ceremonies were continued through three days, and the speeches made upon the occasion were written by Ben Jonson, the Laureate.¹

The following amusing entry is to be found in the 'Domestic State Papers' under the date December 25, 1612: 'The King in bed with a sore toe, but will not have it called the gout.' From the same papers we learn that in January 1615 the Queen ordered Sir John Spilman 'to repair to Whitehall to receive directions concerning a loan to be raised for her by pawning certain jewels.'

On November 4, 1616, appears the order of the creation of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales; a set was celebrated at Whitehall to mark the occasion, and it was followed by a dinner. On May 24, 1619, the Duke of Lenox gave a dinner to the Marquis of Tremouille at the Palace, and after the meal the play of 'Pericles Prince of Tyre' was performed.

To continue with our perusal of the 'Domestic State Papers,' we read that, on March 20, 1620, an accident occurred at Whitehall, the floor of the terrace sinking as the Spanish Ambassador was passing to his first audience. The King, we are told, would not allow the incident to be regarded as ominous. On November 20 of the same year

¹ *Memorials of Westminster.* Walcott.

James 'gave an audience to the Spanish Ambassador in the Gallery at Whitehall : he caused several pieces to be cut out of pictures in the gallery which reflected on the Spaniards.' Early in the following year, we read that the 'great Monsieur of France' (Cadenat) was entertained at the Palace, and that a Masque was performed, at which no one below the rank of a Baron was allowed to be present.

Sir Robert Kerr, Viscount Rochester, was created Baron of Branspeth in the reign of James I. (on November 4, 1619).

Among the domestic details of the Palace in Charles the First's reign, the following are recorded :

May 8, 1626, Grant to Thomas Cradock, his Majesty's Organ Maker, of 20*l.* per annum for the oversight and tuning of his Majesty's Organs in St. James and in the Privy Lodgings at Whitehall.

26*l.* 12*s.* for 133 ells of fine holland to cover two great cupboards of Estate in the Banqueting House at Whitehall at the feasting of the Duke de Chevreuse.

Warrant to pay to Michael Oldisworth 1,400*l.* towards the charge of a Masque at Whitehall on Twelfth Night next.

In December, 1641, uproars and disturbances occurred ; the courtiers were commanded to wear swords and a *corps de garde* was built within the rails of Whitehall. Collisions took place between the apprentices and the soldiers, and many of the former were wounded and lost their hats and cloaks. This so much exasperated them that it was feared that as many as 10,000 of them would appear at

Whitehall ; the number of soldiers was accordingly increased, and other precautionary measures were taken. For all that, the apprentices managed to commit an assault upon the Archbishop of York, and beat him as he was going into the Parliament.

Soon after the execution of Charles I. there was a general overhauling of the contents of Whitehall. Trustees and contractors were appointed for the appraising of the late King's goods and for the sale of such of them as were not reserved by the Council for the use of the State. A committee was formed to view the hangings and carpets at Hampton Court, and 'such as were fit for the Banqueting House in Whitehall' were reserved for that place. An order was also given for the removal of the pictures and arms of the late King from Whitehall 'whether they be in chambers, or windows of chambers, or any other public or private place;' and certain statues at 'James's House,' which were interesting on account of their antiquity and rarity, but which would 'yield little if sold,' were ordered to be placed in the garden of Whitehall. We also read that Members of Parliament were accommodated with lodgings in the Palace, and that rooms were temporarily occupied by various officials.

In September, 1651, a bonfire was lit at Whitehall Gate 'in token of joy for the good news of the routing of the enemy near Worcester;' and on April 27, 1654, Cromwell gave an entertainment at the Palace.

‘April 27, 1654, the Lords Ambassadors of the United Provinces this day dined with his Highness the Lord Protector at Whitehall.’¹

‘Barebones Parliament held its mimic council’² at Whitehall on July 10, 1653; and in March 1657, the Speaker, accompanied by the House of Commons, repaired to the Banqueting Hall and presented the ‘humble petition and advice of the House.’

After the Restoration, Charles II. went at once to Whitehall in order to receive the congratulations of both Houses of Parliament, and on Tuesday, May 29, 1662, he proceeded to the Palace in state and was enthusiastically greeted by the populace. In the ‘Book of Ceremonials,’ vol. ii. p. 171, there is the following description of the scene:—

Charles II. passed between the Citizens and several Regiments of Foots, and so attended with the shouts and prayers of the people entered Whitehall about 7 of the clock: where, just in the withdrawing Chamber, the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Peers, made him a short congratulatory speech, and then all the Lords present kissed his hand: after which in the Banquetting house, his Majesty was attended by the House of Commons, who did the same, and to compleat this joy with thankfulness to God, the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Chichester, and Rochester, in their Episcopall habitts, assisted by divers others of the long oppressed orthodox Clergy, mett this evening in King Henry the 7th’s Chappell at Westminster and there sang the ‘Te Deum,’ in praise and thanks to God Almighty for His unspeakable mercy in delivering his Majesty from many dangers, and after so long a time of exile and

¹ *Select Proceedings in State Affairs*, April 27 to May 4, 1654.

² Besant’s *Westminster*.

banishment in so miraculously and happily restoring him to the possession of his Crown and Royall Dignity.

Pepys gives the following account of an entertainment which he witnessed at Whitehall :—

‘The room,’ he writes, ‘where the ball was to be, was crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the Court. By and by comes the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess (of York) and all the great ones ; and after seating themselves the King takes out the Duchess of York, and the Duke the Duchess of Buckingham, the Duke of Monmouth my Lady Castlemaine, and so other Lords other Ladies, and they danced a “bransle.” After that the King led a lady a single coranto ; and then the rest of the lords, one after another other ladies ; very noble it was, and great pleasure to see. Then to Country Dances : the King leading the first, which he called for, which was, says he, “Cuckolds all awry,” the old Dance of England. Of the ladies that danced, the Duke of Monmouth’s mistress, and my Lady Castlemaine, and a daughter of Sir Harry de Vie’s were the best. The manner was, when the King dances, all the ladies in the room, and the Queen herself, stand up, and indeed he dances rarely, and much better than the Duke of York.’

Evelyn, writing on September 17, 1660, says :—

Went to London to see ye splendid entry of ye Prince de Ligne, Ambassador extraordinary from Spaine : he was Generall of ye Spanish King’s Horse in Flanders, and was accompanied with divers greate persons from thence and an innumerable retinue. His train consisted of 17 coaches with 6 horses of his owne, besides a greate number of English, &c. Greater bravery had I never seene. He was receiv’d in the Banquetting House in exceeding state, all ye greate officers of Court attending.

On April 19, 1661, the same writer witnessed the ceremonies which took place in the Painted Chamber at Westminster in connection with the Knights of the Bath before the coronation of Charles II. :—

The rest of ye ceremonie was in the Chapell at Whitehall, when their swords being laid on ye Altar, the Bishop delivered them.

On the following day (April 20, 1661) Evelyn saw his Majesty, in the Banqueting House,

create six Earls, and as many Barons, viz., Edward, Lord Hyde, Lord Chancellor, Earle of Clarendon : supported by ye Earles of Northumberland and Sussex ; ye Earle of Bedford carried the Cap and Coronet, the Earle of Warwick the sword, the Earle of Newport the Mantle. Next was Capel created Earle of Essex : Bradenell was created Earle of Cardigan : Valentia, Earle of Anglesea : Grenvill, Earle of Bath, and Howard, Earle of Carlisle. The Barons were : Denzill Holles : Cornwallis : Booth : Townsend : Cooper : Crew : who were all led up by severall peers with garter and Officers of Armes before them : when after obedience on their severall approaches to ye Throne, their patents were presented by Garter King at Armes, which being received by ye Lord Chamberlaine, and deliver'd to his Majesty and by him to the Secretary of State, were read and then again deliver'd to his Matie. and by him to the severall Lords created : they were then rob'd, their coronets and Collers put on by his Matie. and they were plac'd in rank on both sides the State and Throne, but the Barons put off their Caps and Circles, and held them in their hands, the Earles keeping on their coronets, as cousins to the King.

Pepys, who on April 19, 1661, says : ' I could not go to Whitehall to see the Knights of the Bath

made to-day,' writes the following concerning this very ceremony to which reference has been made from Evelyn's 'Diary':—

April 20, 1661. In the Banquetting House saw the King create my Lord Chancellor, and several other Earls, and Mr. Crew and several other Barons: the first being led up by Heralds, and five old Earls to the King, and there the Patent is read and the King puts on his vest and Sword and Coronet and gives him the Patent. And then he kisses the King's hands and rises and stands covered before the King. And the same for the Barons, only he is led up but by three of the old Barons, and are girt with swords, before they go to the King.

The following is a complete list of the Earls and Barons above referred to:—

Earls.—Edward Hyde (Lord Hyde) Viscount Cornbury and Earl of Clarendon. Arthur (Lord Capel) Viscount Malden and Earl of Essex. Thomas (Lord Brudenell) Earl of Cardigan. Charles Howard (Lord Dacre) Viscount Howard of Morpeth and Earl of Carlisle. Sir Arthur Annesley (Viscount Valentia) Lord Annesley and Earl of Anglesea. Sir John Granville, Viscount Granville of Lansdowne and Earl of Bath.

Barons.—John Crewe, Baron Crewe of Stene. Denzil Holles, Baron Holles of Ifield. Sir F. Cornwallis, Bart., Baron Cornwallis of Eye. Sir Horace Townshend of King's Lynn ('merged in the Marquisate'). Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart., Baron Ashley of Wimborne St. Giles ('merged in the Earldom of Shaftesbury'). Sir

George Booth, Bart., Baron Delamere of Dunham Massey.

The Council and Fellows of ye Royal Society went in a body to White-hall, to acknowledge his Majesty's royal grace in granting our Charter, and vouchsafing to be himselfe our founder : when the President made an eloquent speech to which his Maty. gave a gracious reply, and we all kiss'd his hand.¹

Under the date December 29 of the same year Evelyn writes :—

Saw the audience of the Muscovy Ambassador which was with extraordinary state, his retinue being numerous, all clad in vests of severall colours, with buskins after ye Eastern manner : their Caps of furr : tunicks richly embroidered with gold and pearls, made a glorious shew. The King being seated under a Canopie in ye Banquetting House, the Secretary of ye Embassy went before ye Ambassador in a grave march, holding up his Master's letters of credence in a crimson taffeta scarfe before his forehead. The Ambassador then deliver'd it with a profound reverence to ye King, who gave it to our Secretary of State : it was written in a long and lofty style. Then came in the presents, borne by 165 of his retinue, consisting of mantles, and other large pieces lined with Sable, black fox, and ermine ; Persian carpets, the ground cloth of gold and velvet ; hawks, such as they sayd never came the like ; horses said to be Persian ; bowes and arrows, &c. These borne by so long a traine, rendered it very extraordinary. Wind music play'd all the while in ye galleries above. This finish'd, ye Ambassador was conveyed by ye Master of ye Ceremonies to York House.

On April 22, 1667, the same author writes :—

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, 1662, August 29.

Saw the sumptuous supper in the Banqueting House, Whitehall, on the Eve of St. George's Day, where were all the Companions of the Order of the Garter.

And on the following day, the 23rd inst., he added :—

After the Service, they proceeded to the Banqueting House to a great Feast. The King sat on an elevated throne at the upper end at a Table alone, the Knights at a Table on the right hand, reaching all the length of the room ; over against them a cupboard of rich gilded Plate ; at the lower end the Music ; on the balusters above, wind music, trumpets and kettledrums. The King was served by the Lords and Pensioners who brought up the dishes. About the middle of the dinner the Knights drank the King's health. Then the King theirs, when the trumpets and music played and sounded, the guns going off at the Tower. At the Banquet came in the Queen, and stood by the King's left hand, but did not sit. Then was the Banqueting Stuff flung about the room profusely. In truth, the crowd was so great that though I stayed all the supper the day before, I now stayed no longer than this sport began, for fear of disorder. The cheer was extraordinary, each knight having 40 dishes to his mess, piled up five or six high, the room hung with the richest tapestry.

On July 19 of the following year, 1668, Evelyn witnessed the reception of the French Ambassador in the Banqueting House.

I saw ye magnificent entrie of the French Ambassador Colbert receiv'd in ye Banquetting House. I had never seene a richer coach than that which he came in to Whitehall. Standing by his Maty. at dinner in the presence, there was of that rare fruit call'd the King Pine, growing in Barbados, and ye West Indies, the first of them I had ever seene, his Maty. having cut it up was pleased to give

me a piece off his owne plate to taste of, but in my opinion it falls short of those ravishing varieties of deliciousness describ'd in Captain Ligon's history and others. . . . It has yet a grateful acidity but tastes more like ye quince and melon than of any other fruite he mentions.

Evelyn also witnessed the splendid audience of the Danish Ambassador in the Banqueting House in August, 1669, and of the Russian Ambassador in October, 1681. Of the latter ceremony he writes :—

I was at ye audience of the Russia Ambassador before both their Majesties in the Banqueting House. The presents were carried before him, held up by his followers in two ranks, before the King's State, and consisted of tapissry, a large Persian carpet, furs of sable and ermine, &c., but nothing was so splendid and exotic as the Ambassador who came soone after the King's restauration. This present Ambassador was exceedingly offended that his coach was not permitted to come into the Court, till being told that no King's Ambassador did, he was pacified, yet requiring an attestation of it under the hand of Sir Charles Cotterell, the Master of the Ceremonies: being, it seems, afraid he should offend his Master if he omitted the least punctilio.

The Morocco Ambassador, Hamet, on his arrival in England in January, 1682, was granted a public audience of the King and Queen in the Banqueting House. Evelyn, who was also present at this ceremony, writes :—

I saw ye audience of the Morocco Ambassador (named Hamet), his retinue not numerous. He was receiv'd in the Banqueting House, both their Majesties being present. He came up to the throne without making any sort of reverence, not bowing his head or body. He spake

by a renegado Englishman for whose safe return there was a promise. They were all clad in the Moorish habite, cassocks of colour'd cloth, or silk, with, buttons and loops, over this an alhaga, or white woollen mantle, so large as to 'wrap both head and body, a shash or small turban, naked legg'd and arm'd, but with leather socks like the Turks, rich scymeter and large calico sleeved shirts. The Ambassador had a string of pearls oddly woven in his turban. . . . He was an handsome person, well featur'd, of a wise looke, subtile, and extreame civill. Their presents were lions and estridges (ostriches).

The Ambassador's present consists of 2 lions and 30 ostriches at which his Majesty laughed, and said he knew nothing more proper to send by way of return than a flock of geese.¹

Some days after this audience the Ambassador and his suite were feasted in the apartments of the Duchess of Portsmouth (Louise de Querouaille) at a greate banquet of sweetmeates and Musiq, at which both the Ambassador and his retinue behaved themselves with extraordinary moderation and modesty, though placed about a long table, a lady between two Moores, and amongst them were the King's natural children, viz. Lady Lichfield and Sussex, the Dutchesse of Portsmouth, Nelly (Gwynne), &c., and concubines and cattell of that sort, as splendid as jewells and excesse of bravery could make them.²

Both Evelyn and Pepys occasionally refer to that strange practice, 'Touching for the Evil.' Thus Evelyn, in his 'Memoirs' (p. 571), informs us that in March, 1684, the number of people who brought their children to be touched and cured was so great that 'six or seven were crushed to death by pressing

¹ *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby.*

² Evelyn.

at the Chirurgeon's doore for tickets.' Pepys also tells us that the King was accustomed to touch for the 'Evil' in the Banqueting House, and that he witnessed the ceremony for the first time in April, 1661. 'Charles did it with great gravity. It seemed to me an ugly task, yet a simple one.' On another occasion Pepys records the fact that people were touched by the King after having waited all the morning in the rain.

Apropos of the ceremony, the following appears in the 'Academy,' October, 1899 :—

Of the many historical cases of well authenticated cures, one of the most picturesque is the grace believed by many generations to reside in royal hands laid upon the scrofulous. Evelyn thus graphically describes the operation, as it might be witnessed in his own day :—

' His Majestie sitting under his state in the Banqueting House, the Chirurgeons cause the sick to be brought, or led up to the Throne, where they kneeling, the King strokes their faces or cheeks with both his hands at once, at which instant a Chaplaine in his formalities sayd : "He put his hands on them and healed them." This is sayd to every one in particular. When they have all been touched, they come up againe in the same order : and the other Chaplaine kneeling, and having angel-gold strung on white ribbon on his arme, delivers them, one by one to his Majestie, who puts them about the necks of the touched as they passe whilst the first Chaplaine repeats : "That is the true light who came into the world."'

The following note respecting this 'Touching for the Evil' appears in the edition of Pepys's 'Diary' to which access has been obtained :—

NOTE.—This ceremony is usually traced to Edward the Confessor, but there is no direct evidence of the early Norman Kings having touched for the Evil. Sir John Fortescue, in his *Defence of the House of Lancaster* against that of York, argued that the crown could not descend to a female, because the Queen is not qualified, by the form of anointing her used at the Coronation, to cure the disease called the King's Evil. Burn asserts in his *'History of Parish Registers'* (1862, p. 179) that 'between 1660 and 1682, 92,107 persons were touched for the Evil.' Every one coming to the Court for that purpose brought a certificate signed by the Minister and Churchwardens that he had not at any time been touched by his Majesty. The practice was supposed to have expired with the Stuarts, but the point being disputed, reference was made to the library of the Duke of Sussex, and four several Oxford editions of the Book of Common Prayer were found, all printed after the accession of the House of Hanover, and all containing, as an integral part of the Service, 'The office for the healing.' The stamp of gold with which the King crossed the sore of the sick person was called an angel, and of the value of ten shillings. It had a hole bored through it, through which a ribbon was drawn, and the angel was hanged about the patient's neck till the cure was perfected. The stamp has the impression of St. Michael the Archangel on one side, and a ship in full sail on the other. . . . Sir William Lower gives a long account of the Touching for the Evil by Charles before the Restoration.

Charles II. was the last monarch who 'touched' for this ill at Whitehall ; elsewhere, however, Queen Anne continued to exercise this 'royal healing touch :'¹ and in France—for the French Kings shared with the English Sovereigns this supposed

¹ Dr. Johnson, it will be remembered, was so touched as a child.

miraculous power—the practice seems to have continued till 1775.

The office of 'At the healing' was omitted from the Book of Common Prayer in 1709.

In the following lines Pepys refers to what would seem to have been a survival of the old custom of 'tasting':—

So to Whitehall, and saw the King and Queen at dinner, and observed (which I never did before) the formality, but it is but informality, of putting a bit of bread wiped upon each dish into the mouth of every man that brings a dish : but it should be in the sauce.¹

Among the domestic details of the Palace in the reign of Charles II. we read (February 21, 1662) of a 'warrant to Francis Rogers and two others to search for, seize, and inventory certain jewels and valuables belonging to the late King, and suspected to be concealed in contempt of the proclamation ; viz. a diamond hat-band and garter, cloak of feathers, gold wedge and cap, target and stirrup of gold ; all taken from the late King's closet at Whitehall.' Later on in 1662, there was an order for a warrant to pay 900*l.* to the keeper and repairer of the King's instruments for a double organ for Whitehall Palace ; on November 21, 1666, Henry Glover was appointed keeper of the Royal Theatre at Whitehall —'fee 30*l.* a year, from the money allowed for plays' ; on February 8, 1671, there was a 'warrant to Captain Francis Berkeley, gamekeeper within ten

¹ Pepys's *Diary*, September 8, 1667.

miles of Whitehall, empowering and requiring him, if any person shall hunt or kill any of the King's game within ten miles of Whitehall, to seize and detain any greyhounds, mongrels, setting-dogs, guns, trammels, tunnels, nets, and all other engines employed for that purpose ;' and, on March 14 of the same year, there was a 'warrant for payment to Laurence Hyde, the Master of the Robes, from the Commissioners of the Treasury the sum of 2,316*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* to discharge the tradesmen's bills for masqueing attire provided by his Majesty's command for the Masque performed at Whitehall on February 20 & 21.'

In the 'Book of Ceremonials' are the following curious details of 'The old order of making the King's bed : '—

A groom or page with a torch to stand at the bed's foot ; they of the Wardrobe opening the King's stuff of the bed upon a fair sheet between the groom and the bed's foot ; two yeomen of the Chamber on each side to make the bed and a gentleman usher to direct them ; a yeoman with a dagger to search the straw of the bed, and then to cast the bed of down upon that ; and one to tumble over it for the search thereof, &c. ; lastly making a cross and kissing it. The two yeomen next the foot making the fires : And so many of them to stick up the Angels about the bed and let down the curtains of the said bed.

Item. A Squire for the body or gentleman usher ought to set the King's sword at the bed's head ; also to charge a Groom or Page with a light to keep the said bed till the King be disposed to go into it.

Item. A Groom or Page to take a torch while the bed making to fetch a loaf of bread, a pot with ale, a pot

with wine for them that make the bed, and every man drinketh.

Elaborate preparations were made for the coronation of James II., and the ceremony was conducted with much pomp. James himself appointed the Lords of the Privy Council Committee to consider the manner of his coronation, and they met at Whitehall and discussed the records of former coronations, the claims of various persons to perform particular services, and so forth. The King and Queen lodged at St. James's Palace on the night before the ceremony, and early the following morning the Lord Great Chamberlain repaired to the King, 'with his Majesty's shirt opened for the anointing,' and, assisted by the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, proceeded to apparel the monarch. After having performed his devotions, James, attended by several noblemen and officers of his household, went through St. James's Park to Whitehall. The Royal barge was at the Privy Stairs, and his Majesty was conveyed to Westminster in it about ten in the morning. He 'landed at the Parliament stair leading up to the Old Palace Yard. Going directly to the Princes lodgings, he there reposed himself and was invested with his surcoat of crimson velvet, and, after some time, with his Royal Robe, or mantle of crimson velvet, furred with ermine, called his Parliament Robes, with a Cap of Estate also of crimson velvet turned up with ermine.'

Meanwhile, the Queen, having performed her devotions, and having been appalled in her Royal Robes at St. James's, went privately in her chair to Whitehall and thence to Westminster.

The coronation day was concluded amid scenes of gaiety and conviviality ; bonfires were lit, bells rung, and their Majesties' healths drunk ; joy, loyalty, affection were universally manifested. The display of fireworks was most remarkable, the elaborate constructions and ingenious devices exciting great enthusiasm. Little did the populace or the monarch himself imagine that in a few short years he would be an exile from the country.

In December 1685, Evelyn was present at an entertainment given by the King to the Venetian Ambassador. He thus describes it :—

I din'd at the greate entertainment his Maty. gave ye Venetian Ambassadors, Signors Zenno and Justiniani, accompanied with 10 more noble Venetians of their most illustrious families, Cornaro, Maccenigo, &c., who came to congratulate their Majesties coming to the Crowne. The dinner was most magnificent and plentiful, at four tables, with music, kettledrums, and trumpets, which sounded upon a whistle at every health. The banquet (dessert) was 12 vast chargers pil'd up so high that those who sat one against another could hardly see each other. Of these sweetmeates, which doubtless were some days piling up in that exquisite manner, the Ambassadors touch'd not, but leaving them to ye Spectators, who came out of curiosity to see the dinner, were exceedingly pleased to see in what a moment of time all that curious work was demolish'd, the comfitures voided, and the tables clear'd. Thus his Maty. entertain'd them three days, which (for the table only)

cost him 600*l.* as the Cleark of the Greene Cloth (Sr. Wm. Boreman) assur'd me. Dinner ended, I saw their procession or cavalcade to Whitehall, innumerable coaches attending. The two Ambassadors had 4 coaches of their owne, and 50 footmen (as I remember) besides other equipage as splendid as ye occasion would permit, the Court being still in mourning. Thence I went to the audience wch. they had in the Queen's presence Chamber, the Banquetting House being full of goods and furniture till the galleries on the garden side, Council Chamber, and new Chapel, now in building, were finish'd. They went to their audience in those plain black gownes and Caps, which they constantly weare in the City of Venice.

And now we come to the last event of great importance that took place at Whitehall. The Lords and Commons having met at Westminster on February 13, 1687, waited upon the Prince and Princess of Orange in the Banqueting House, and offered them the crown: the offer was accepted, and William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England.

It may be mentioned here, at the end of this chapter, that the present (1901) Lord Gwydyr (Fourth Baron) of Stoke Park, near Ipswich, is probably the only person now living who has been present at three coronations. He was born in 1810. As a boy he went from Gwydyr House, Whitehall, to the Speaker's steps in his grandfather's barge, and saw George IV. crowned in the Abbey, and witnessed the great coronation banquet in Westminster Hall. He also saw the coronation of William IV. and Queen Victoria.

CHAPTER XXII

MASQUES AT WHITEHALL PALACE

THE form of entertainment known as the Masque, though short-lived, had a great vogue in the reigns of James I., Charles I., and Charles II., and its home was Whitehall. Immense sums of money were spent upon these 'Masks and Mummings,' as Sir Dudley Carleton calls them, and the services of distinguished artists and writers were employed in their production.

Of these representations one of the earliest upon record took place in the Banqueting Hall on St. John's day, December 27, 1604, the occasion being the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert with the Lady Susan Vere. There were theatrical performances at the Palace previous to that date, however; in the year 1561, for example, the students of the Inner Temple acted the tragedy of 'Ferrex and Porrex' at Whitehall.

Amongst the famous masques presented in the reign of James I. was the Queen's masque of 'Blacknesse,' written by Ben Jonson, and performed in the Banqueting House on Twelfth-night,

1605, in honour of Prince Charles having been created Duke of York. It was produced with great pomp and splendour, at the cost of 3,000*l*. The Queen and eleven of the most beautiful ladies of her Court took part in it with their hands and faces blackened, and they did not shrink from dressing their part, for they appeared as they had assumed the characters of the daughters of Niger, and 'it was his Majestie's will to have them Black Mores at first.'¹

'There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by Moors. The indecorum was that there was all fish and no water. At the further end was a great shell, in the form of a shallop, wherein were four seats. In the lowest sat the Queen with one Lady Bedford; in the rest were placed my ladies Suffolk, Derby, Rich, Effingham, Ann Herbert, Susan Herbert, Elizabeth Howard, Walsingham, and Bevil. Their appearance was rich, but too light and courtezan like for such great ones.'²

In the following year, during the visit of Christian, King of Denmark, another great masque took place in Whitehall; and in 1608 a masque called 'Beautie,' represented by the Queen and her

¹ Ben Jonson's *Works*, p. 893 (folio 1616).

² Winwood's *Memorials*. Letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to Mr. Winwood, dated January, 1604.

ladies, was performed on Twelfth-night; an occasion upon which 'there was great ingenuity displayed in the construction of the machinery.'¹

February 23, 1609, was the date of another entertainment of this kind, entitled 'Queenes;' while, on June 12, 1610, when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, the day 'was graced with a most glorious maske' at Whitehall, which lasted 'till within half an hour of the sun's not setting but rising.'

In January, 1611, the Prince presented at the Banqueting House a masque written by Ben Jonson, and called 'Oberon the Fairy Prince,' the cost of the production being estimated at 1,092*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* Two years later the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I., with Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, afterwards King of Bohemia, was made the occasion of a masque which was composed by Chapman, and performed in Whitehall by members of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn. The production of this masque cost upwards of 1,000*l.*

'First a procession started from the Rolls House in Chancery Lane, and rode on horseback along the Strand, past Charing Cross to the Tilt-yard at Whitehall, where they made one turn before the King and then dismounted. The performance took place in the Hall. It is described as having for scenery an artificial rock, nearly as

¹ Brayley's *Londiniana*, 1829.

high as the roof. The rock was honeycombed with caves, and there were two winding stairs. The rock turned a golden colour, and "was run quite through with veins of gold." On one side was a silver edifice labelled in Latin 'The Temple of Honour' (*Honoris fanum*). There were various allusive devices, and after Plutus, the God of Riches, had made a speech, the rock split in pieces with a great crack, and Capriccio stepped out to make his speech, while the broken rock vanished. Next appeared a cloud, then a gold mine in which twelve maskers were triumphantly seated. Over the gold mine was an evening sky, and the red sun was seen to set. There were white cliffs in the background, and from them rose a bank of clouds which hid everything.'¹

On Twelfth night, 1614, the students of Gray's Inn played the 'Masque of Flowers' at Whitehall.² Upon another occasion the students of the Inner Temple entertained the Court within with a masque, while their *confrères* of Gray's Inn and the Middle Temple, in barges, 'conducted the device of the marriage of Thames and the Rhine upon the water. The fireworks and tournaments upon the river cost 9,000l.'³ The poetry at the masque was the work of Chapman, the machinery that of Jones, and the cost of the production 1,800l.

James I. was a great patron of the masque; he

¹ Cunningham.

² Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*, 1851.

³ *Ibid.*

gave encouragement also to performances of a lighter description. 'He would come forth after supper,' says Sir Anthony Weldon, 'to see pastimes and fooleries in which Sir Edward Leach, Sir George Goring, and Sir John Finett were the chief master fools, and surely this fooling got them more than any other's wisdom, far above them in desert. . . . Then were a set of fiddlers brought up on purpose for this fooling : and Goring was Master of the Game of fooleries : sometimes presenting David Droman and Archie Armstrong on the back of the other fools, to tilt one at the other, till they fell together by the ears ; sometimes the property was presented by them in antic dances. But Sir J. Millisent, who was never known before, was commended for notable fooling, and so was indeed the best extemporary fool of them all.'

In the time of Charles I. the vogue of the masque reached its zenith. Walpole, who is enthusiastic in their praise, gives us the following list of the performances in this reign.

'We have accounts,' he says, 'of many of these entertainments, called the masques ; they had been introduced by Anne of Denmark. I shall mention those in which Jones was concerned.

1. "Hymenæi," or solemnities of masque and barriers, performed on the Twelfth-night 1606, upon occasion of the marriage of Robert, Earl of Essex, and the Lady Frances, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk ; at Court by Ben Jonson. Master

Alphonso Ferabosco sung : Master Thomas Giles made and taught the dances.

'2. "Tethys Festival," a Masque presented on the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, June 5, 1610. The words by S. Daniel, the scenery contrived and described by Master Inigo Jones. This was called "The Queen's Wake." Several of the lords and ladies acted in it. Daniel owns that the machinery and contrivance and ornaments of the scenes made the most conspicuous part of the entertainment.

'3. February 16, 1613, a Masque at Whitehall on the nuptials of the Palgrave and the Princess Elizabeth, invented and fashioned by our Kingdom's most artfull and ingenious architect, Inigo Jones ; digested and written by the ingenious poet, George Chapman.

'4. "Pan's Anniversary," a Masque at Court before King James I., 1625. Inventors, Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson.

'5. "Love's Triumph," 1630, by the King and nobility ; same inventors.

'6. "Chlorida," the Queen's Masque at Court, 1630. The same.

'7. "Albion's Triumph," a Masque presented at Court by the King's Majesty and his lords on Twelfth-night, 1631, by Inigo Jones and Jonson.

'8. "The Temple of Love," a masque at Whitehall, presented by the Queen and her ladies on Shrove Tuesday, 1634, by Inigo Jones, Surveyor, and William Davenant.

'9. "Coelum Britannicum," a Masque at Whitehall in the Banqueting-house on Shrove Tuesday night, the inventors, Thomas Carew, Inigo Jones.

'10. A Masque presented by Prince Charles, September 12, 1636, after the King and Queen came from Oxford to Richmond.'

'11. "Britannia Triumphans," a Masque presented at Whitehall by the King and his Lords on Twelfth-night, 1637.

'12. "Salmacida Spolia," a Masque presented by the King and Queen at Whitehall on Tuesday, January 21, 1639. The invention, ornaments, scenes, and apparitions, with their descriptions, were made by Inigo Jones, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Works; what was spoken or sung, by William Davenant, her Majesty's servant.

'13. "Love's Mistress, or the Queen's Masque," three times presented before their Majesties at the Phoenix in Drury Lane, 1640. T. Heywood gives the highest commendation of Inigo's part in this performance.'

'Lord Burlington had a folio of the designs for these solemnities, by Inigo's own hand, consisting of habits, masks, scenes, &c.'¹

'I have no doubt,' Walpole says, 'but the celebrated Festivals of Louis XIV. were copied from the shows exhibited at Whitehall.' He goes on to say that they served the useful purpose of promoting marriages among the nobility, masques being held

¹ Walpole's *Works*, 1798, vol. iii. p. 271.

in honour of the nuptials of important persons, as has already been shown. The talents of men of the greatest eminence in their various spheres were employed in the production of these 'shows' in Charles's reign; 'Ben Jonson was the Laureate, Inigo Jones the inventor of the decorations, Lanieri and Ferabosco composed the symphonies,' says Walpole; and, he adds, 'the King and Queen and the young nobility danced in the interludes.'¹

Walcott tells us that 'the most splendid masque ever performed at Whitehall was "The Triumph of Peace," written by Shirley, and acted on Candlemas-day, 1634, at an expense of 2,000*l.*, by the Societies of Law, in order to show their dislike of Prynne's "Histrio-Mastix, the Players Scourge." The music was written by Lawes, and the scenery designed by Inigo Jones.'²

We come now to the reign of Charles II. At the court of that merry monarch, Evelyn witnessed a performance which appears to have been a masque written by John Crowne, and called 'Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph.' 'Saw,' he writes in his 'Diary' (December 2, 1674), 'a comedie at night at Court, acted by the ladies only, amongst them Lady Mary and Ann, his Royal Highnesses two daughters, and my dear friend Mrs. Blagg, who having the principal part, perform'd it to admiration. They were all covered with jewells.' In addition to the

¹ Walpole's *Works* (1798), vol. iii. pp. 271-273.

² Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*.

daughters of the Duke of York and Mrs. Blagg, who at one time had been Maid of Honour to the Queen, Lady Henrietta Wentworth, the Countess of Sussex, Lady Mary Mordaunt, and Mrs. Jennings, Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York and the future Duchess of Marlborough, acted in this performance, while the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Dumblaine, and Lord Daincourt took part in it by dancing.

'Calisto' or 'The Chaste Nymph' was founded upon the Third Book of Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' but the catastrophe is altered, and such parts of the classical work as would be unbecoming to ladies to speak are omitted. 'Calisto,' which was printed in 1675, was one of the latest of the great historical masques; it seems to have begun on December 8, and to have lasted till January 22.

A correspondent of 'Notes and Queries' (Second Series, 1858) who writes under the signature 'J. D. C.' has selected from various documents some particulars concerning this great revel, which are so interesting and amusing that we quote from him in full:—

An Accompt of such things as wer delivered to Mr. Cabbin for his Maties Great Ball from the 8th of December, 1674, till the 12. of Jany. next Enshewing as foll. viz. by Jon Brown.

For 9 pounds of whealbon at 20 <i>d</i> . per pound	.	.	00.	15.	02.
For 45 eles and $\frac{1}{4}$ of canvas at u per ell	.	.	03.	04.	01.
For 2 pieces of white calico of 16 yards a picee is	.	01.	05.	00.	
For 12 yards of red. buckram	.	00.	11.	00.	
For 23 yards and $\frac{1}{4}$ of red callico at 11 <i>d</i> . per yard is	.	01.	01.	06.	
For 9 pounds and $\frac{1}{4}$ of weiar at 9 <i>d</i> . per pound	.	00.	07.	00.	
For $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pound of searing candell	.	00.	00.	04.	

For one end and 8 yards of fustian at 13s. and 6d. the			
end	00.	19.	02.
For 2 pounds of tow at 3d. per pound is	00.	00.	06.
For 16 sheets of large pasbord at 2d. per sheet	00.	02.	08.
For a piece of 6d. broad cotton riband and one piece			
3d. broad	00.	05.	06.
For a piece of white sik lawing	00.	05.	06.
For 12 yards of cotton riband	00.	01.	00.
More to ye cloathes for this house bought			
For 14 laces and taging 2 dozen and 2 laces	00.	02.	06.
For 1 : 2 yards of loop lace to be loopd	00.	00.	03.
For 1 dozen of buttons silver and silver and gold	00.	00.	09.

Money disbursed by Jon. Wilton.

December ye 20. 74. Paid for a collation for those of			
the musick at ye Fleese tavern	00.	14.	06.
More paid at Mr. Lamb's for company of Mr. Cabbin			
and Mr. Vaneer	00.	07.	06.
Paid at Mr. Shallings which was spent by my master			
and Mr. Cabbin	00.	06.	00.
Per Archebald Robertson's charges by water to Mr.			
Haris severall times	00.	04.	00.
Disbursed by John Hay at ye Golden Lyon	00.	11.	00.
	11.	04.	11.

I gather from one of the documents before me that M. Cabbin was employed by Messrs. John Allan and William Watts, his Majesty's tailors, to prepare the dresses; and I presume the following account shows what he made for each of them:—

Mascarading Habitts made by John Allan.

3 combatants	30.	00.	00.
4 saityrs	13.	04.	00.
4 windes	17.	12.	00.
One shepard	05.	13.	08.
3 baskes	07.	16.	00.
2 sea gods	10.	00.	00.
3 shepards of Corrus	06.	03.	00.
10 violins	05.	00.	00.
4 gittarr men 18s.	03.	12.	00.
2 boyes in the cloudes	00.	14.	00.

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For one trumpeter and 1 kettle drum	03.	09.	00.
4 heavenly sprits	02.	12.	00.
4 Aryell spritts	02.	08.	00.
For Ashia	15.	14.	08.
First and 2nd. attendants, do. Ashia	07.	04.	00.
3rd. attendant ditto. ditto.	03.	12.	00.
4th. attendant ditto.	02.	16.	00.
First attendant to America	03.	05.	00.
Second and 3rd. attendants ditto	06.	10.	00.
Fourth attendant dito America	02.	11.	00.
Two Afryan kinges	13.	12.	00.
3 Afryan slaves	03.	07.	06.
The genious of the cuntry	12.	09.	02.
One Cupitt	01.	08.	08.
6 joyners, £1. 7s. 6d.	08.	05.	00.
22. twillets	00.	11.	00.
4 shephards more	22.	14.	08.
2 baccants moore	06.	00.	00.
2 saylers ditto.	05.	02.	00.
A shephard of the coruss	02.	01.	00.
Part of womans habitts	21.	10.	03.
Part of Monsr. Devoe	15.	00.	00.
Part of 21 currall spriggs at 2s. 6d. per sp.	01.	06.	03.
Pt. of £4. 10d. layd out for an Afryan slave	00.	00.	09.
	263.	03.	11.
Mr. Allan's pt. abated	10.	4.	0.

Mascarading Habitts made by Wm. Watts.

3 combatants	30.	00.	00.
4 saityrs, at £3. 6s.	13.	04.	00.
4 windes, at £4. 8s.	17.	12.	00.
One Shephard	05.	13.	08.
4 baskes, at £2. 12s.	10.	08.	00.
The hero of the sea	08.	03.	02.
2 sea gods	10.	00.	00.
3 Shephards of corus	06.	03.	00.
10 violins, at 10s. per.	05.	00.	00.
o gittars, at 18s.	00.	00.	00.
2 tromboyes	01.	12.	00.
4 boyes in cloudes	01.	04.	00.
3 trumpets, £1. 14s. 6d.	05.	03.	06.
4 heavenly sprits, 12s.	02.	08.	00.
For Europe	05.	10.	08.
First attendant, ditto	03.	19.	02.

2 attendants more, ditto	06.	18.	00.
The 4 attendants, ditto. Europe	03.	03.	00.
Afryca	07.	05.	04.
First and 2nd. attendants, do. Africa	07.	02.	00.
3rd. attendant, dito	03.	11.	00.
The 4th. attendant	02.	17.	06.
Emperour of America	07.	00.	09.
2 African kinges	13.	12.	00.
3 African slaves	03.	07.	06.
One Cupitt	01.	08.	08.
6 joyners	08.	05.	00.
15 twillets	00.	07.	06.
3 shephards more.	17.	01.	00.
2 baccants	06.	00.	00.
2 sailers	05.	02.	00.
4 heavenly sprits	02.	12.	00.
Part of the womens habitts	21.	10.	03.
Part of Mons. Devoe	15.	00.	00.
Part of 21 currall spriggs, at 2s. 6d.	01.	06.	03.
Part of £4. 10s. layd out for glazed buckram, silk, and buttons for a Afryan slave	00.	00.	09.
	259.	10.	11.
Mr. Watts pt. of abatements is	09.	18.	00.

The ingenuity of the lady readers of 'N. and Q.' will no doubt enable them to form 'a very pretty notion' of the costumes worn on the occasion by the following account of the materials of which they were formed. The list will be found to contain a few terms of interest in the history of fashion. It cost a good deal to dress a Shepherd in those days. 'The Winds' also were rather expensive articles. But a Combatant must have been a good one, to repay his cost:—

Quantities for 1 Shepheard.

Sil ^d . tabby :—	yds.	qs.	n.	Totalle. yds. qrs. n.
For ye body of ye dublet	1	1	0	
For ye sleeves	0	3	2	
For ye skirts	1	1	0	
For ye bagg	0	0	2	
For ye hatt	1	0	2	4 2 2

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				Totalle.
	yds.	qs.	n.	yds. qrs. n.
Cherry satten :—				
For ye breeches	1	3	2	
For ye paspoils of ye dublet	0	2	2	
For ye bagg	0	1	1	2 3 1
Cherry taffaty :—				
For to line ye hatt	0	1	1	
For to line ye dublet	1	2	1	1 3 2
Chery and silv ^r lace 2 fing ^r broad :—				
For ye dublet and bagg	15	0	0	15 0 0
Ditto 3 fingers broad :—				
For ye body sleeves and skirts	25	0	0	25 0 0
Silver lace 4 fing ^r broad :—				
For ye breeches and dublet	11	1	0	
For ye hatt	1	3	0	13 0 0
Silver fringe :—				
For ye breeches	5	1	0	
For ye bagg and strings	4	0	0	9 1 0
White jewel :—			doz.	doz.
For ye bagg		3	2	
For ye sleeves of ye dublet		1	0	4 2
Sky jewells :—				
For ye dublet		9	9	
For ye breeches		2	2	11 11
Red jewels :—				
For ye dublet		6	0	
For ye breeches		2	8	
For ye bagg		2	3	11 5
Green jewels :—				
For ye dublet		1	10	
For ye breeches		3	1	4 11
Spangles :—				
For ye bagg		6	4	
For ye breeches		8	0	
For ye dublet		29	2	43 6
Silver and cherry jeweld roses :—				
For ye dublet and sleeves		2	0	2 0
Quantities for 1 Satyr.				Total.
Changing taffeta :—	yds.	qs.	n.	yds. qs. n.
For ye waistcoat and sleeves	1	0	2	1 0 2
Green satten :—				
For ye lawrolls of ye dublet and breeches	1	0	0	
For ye bands of ye dublet and breeches	0	1	2	
For ye lawrolls of ye capp	0	1	2	1 3 0

				Total.
	yds.	qs.	n.	yds. qs. n.
Musk taffat :—				
For ye breeches	1	0	2	1 0 2
Silv ^r fringe :—				
For ye wastcoat and sleeves	3	0	1	
For ye breeches	2	0	0	5 0 1
Gold and musk fringe :—				
For to goe round ye breeches	7	1	0	
For ye capp	2	3	0	10 0 0
Gold fring :—				
For ye knees of ye breeches	1	0	1	1 0 1
Gold and silv ^r buttons :—				doz. doz.
For ye wastcoat	2	3		2 3

Quantities for 1 Habbit to represent ye Windes.

				Total.
	yds.	qs.	n.	yds. qs. n.
Silv ^r tabby :—				
For ye body and jonjolots	01	3	0	1 3 0
Cherry satten :—				
For ye jonnalots and paspoils	2	2	0	
For ye sleeves and collar	1	1	0	3 3 0
Gold tabby :—				
For 8 lambricans for ye should ^{rs} and hatt, and 12 of ye largest size, and 11 of ye 2 ^d size, and 10 of ye third size, and 43 of ye smallest size	3	0	3	3 0 3
Cherry and silver fring :—				
For ye bottom of ye jonjolot	3	1	0	3 1 0
Silver fring :—				
For ye back, sides, sleeves, and paspoils	4	2	2	4 2 2
Silver galoon :—				
For ye sleeves and jonjolots	5	1	0	5 1 0

Quantities for one Combatant.

Scarlet saten :—				
For ye longets	1	2	0	1 2 0
Green saten :—				
For ye jonjolots	1	3	0	
For ye sleeves, gorget, and helmet	0	3	0	2 2 0
Silver tabby :—				
For ye body	1	1	0	
For ye sleeves	1	1	0	
For ye bottom of the jonjolots and upper cuffs of ye sleeves	0	3	0	3 1 0

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			Total.
	yds. qs. n.	yds. qs. n.	
Gold tabby :—			
For ye barrs and scallops	0 2 0		
For ye capp	0 2 2	1 0 2	
Gold fringe :—			
For ye jonnots and upper sleeves	3 2 0	3 2 0	
Narrow gold galeon :—			
For to goe round ye . . . and upper sleeves	3 2 0	3 2 0	
Scarlet and silver galeon :—			
To shamair ye sleeves	9 0 0	9 0 0	
Narrow gold galeon :—			
For to goe round ye sleeves and longets	4 2 0		
For ye scollops	2 0 0		
For ye barrs of ye body	8 0 0		
For ye short longets of ye body	6 2 0	21 0 0	
Broad gold galeon :—			
For to goe round ye cuffs	2 0 0		
For ye longets of ye body	12 0 0		
For ye gorget waste and sides	3 3 0		
For ye capp	0 3 2	18 2 2	
Silver galeons :—			
For ye capp	3 0 0	3 0 0	
Long white jewell :—	doz.	doz.	
For ye longets of ye body and sleeves	00 11		
For ye capp	00 7	01 6	
Treble white jewells :—			
For ye longets of ye body	00 9		
For ye body itselfe	00 3		
For ye longets of ye sleeves	01 1	02 1	
Bigg round white jewells :—			
For to goe round ye jonnots	01 3	01 3	
Small round jewells :—			
For ye body and scollops	11 9		
For ye longets of ye body and sleeves	08 0		
For ye bottom of ye jonnolet	02 4		
For ye capp	06 4	28 5	
Red jewells :—			
For ye body	01 0	01 0	
Sky jewell :—			
For ye body	00 1	00 1	
Green jewell :—			
For ye body	00 1	00 1	
Silver purple roses :—			
For ye longets of ye body and sleeves	06 4		
For ye capp	00 1	06 5	

Bigg gold purle roses :—	doz.	doz.
For ye body	01 0	01 0
Small gold purld roses :—		
For ye body and scollops	06 9	
For ye sleeves and	03 6	
For ye capp	00 3	10 6

The following account adds a little, I believe, to the history of our actresses, proving the existence of 'Madam Hunt' and 'Mistress Hunt'—the latter probably Madam's mother—and so clears up one or two obscure points in the gossip of the time :—

All the Women's Accounts of their Habits delivered into
his Maty Greate Wardroabe.

Madam Blake, goddess of hunting	08.	00.	00.
Madam Knight, Pease	04.	10.	00.
A Shephardess	03.	10.	00.
Madam Butler, Plenty	03.	15.	00.
A shephardess	04.	01.	06.
Afrycan lady	03.	03.	00.
Madam Hunt, shephardess	05.	01.	06.
An Afrycan	03.	03.	00.
Mrs. Maistres and Mrs. Pearse	04.	01.	06.
Mrs. Hunt	03.	15.	00.
	<u>43.</u>	<u>00.</u>	<u>06.</u>

	£
The whole of maskrads first bill	440.
The segund bill	030.
Payed Devoe	030.
The sprigs of corall	002. 12. 06.
	<u>502. 12. 06.</u>

And thus ends my account of the rare doings at Christmas at the Court of the Merry Monarch—who must have laughed in his sleeve when he heard, in the Second Act of Calisto,

'. . . . How useful and of what delight
Is sovereign power : 'tis that determines right.
Nothing is truly good, but what is great.'

In the following year Evelyn states that he was present at Whitehall when an Italian named Scaramucchio acted before the King, and he goes on to say that people gave 'money to come in, which was very scandalous, and never so before at Court diversions.'¹

In his 'Introduction' to Massinger's 'Works' Mr. Gifford, in writing of the masques, says: 'Though modern refinement may affect to despise them, modern splendour never reached (them) even in thought.' D'Israeli, by the by, tells us that the fullest account he had found of one of these entertainments was in a manuscript letter of the time, 'with which,' he says, 'I supplied the Editor of "Jonson," who has preserved the narrative in his "Memoirs" of the Poet.'²

The masque, as was said at the beginning of the chapter, had but a short vogue. But its life, if short, was brilliant. And the splendours which marked its brief existence earned for it, in the estimation of Leigh Hunt, the proud compliment of having been 'the greatest glory of Whitehall.'

¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, 1675, August 29.

² D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ROYAL MAUNDY

OF the many Royal Charities, that known as the Royal Maundy is the most interesting, by reason of its great antiquity, as well as from its associations, which are both of a religious and an historical character, and the ceremonial which attends its distribution. As will be shown, the ceremonial has been subject to changes, and much of its quaintness has disappeared ; even as at present performed, however, it is a remarkable survival of an ancient custom.

Much controversy has arisen over the derivation of the word 'Maundy.' Some critics maintain that it is derived from 'commaund,' the old form of 'command,' and that it has reference to the commands which our Lord delivered to His disciples on the day before His Crucifixion. The fact that the washing of the feet of the poor was an important feature in the religious service of Maundy Thursday tends to give support to this view. Others derive the word from 'Maund,' a kind of basket or hamper containing eight bales or 'fats' in which the articles



THE DISTRIBUTION OF HIS MAJESTY'S MAUNDY IN THE ANTE-CHAPEL AT WHITEHALL.
(From an Engraving in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq., after a Drawing made by S. H. Grimm in 1773.)

of clothing were carried at the time of distribution. 'Maund' is still a current word, and is used to designate the baskets into which herrings are placed when landed from the fishing boats. Other critics, again, derive the word from *Maunder*—to beg. According to their view, the people having fasted all through Lent, and being in a reduced condition, 'would entreat the sovereign's liberality,' and beg him to grant them food on the day before Good Friday, which was therefore called Maundy Thursday.

In the Roman Catholic Church, where it is the custom to call many of the services by the first word in the Salisbury Missal, 'Maundy' is regarded as the English equivalent of 'Mandatum,' the antiphon of the service of the day before Good Friday commencing thus : 'Mandatum novum do vobis.'

In Collins's 'Ecclesiastical History' it is stated that the altar was washed the day before Good Friday, and from that fact some people hold that the name comes from the Latin word 'mundus,' pure or clean.

Observances of a religious character bearing on the Passion of our Lord are celebrated in most Christian countries upon Maundy Thursday, and present very similar features. At Rome the Pope washes the feet of thirteen priests, or pilgrims, as they are called, who represent the twelve apostles and the angel who came to the table at which St. Gregory was serving. The representatives of the

apostles are old men, but he who represents the angel is always young. The Pope then serves them bread and wine, bestows his benediction upon them, and then leaves them to finish their repast. What they are unable to eat they are allowed to carry away with them. A similar service is performed at Moscow by the Archbishop, while in Austria the Emperor, assisted by the Archdukes of blood royal, serves a repast of many courses to twelve old men, and washes their feet. In Spain, at Seville, the Archbishop gives a splendid cold dinner to twelve paupers, and then receives them at the Cathedral, where the ablution ceremonies are performed with much pomp. Similar services have been held in France.

In England, the Maundy is first referred to by St. Augustine about A.D. 400, and from a remote period down to the end of the seventeenth century the ceremony of the washing of the feet, and the distribution of the alms by the Sovereign, has been performed in this country.

Take, for example, the instance recorded in a small book kept at the office of the Registrar-General at Somerset House, and entitled 'Chapels Royal Register : Births, Deaths, Marriages : '—

'On Maundy Thursday, April 16, 1685, our gracious King James ye 2nd. wash'd, wip'd, and kiss'd the feet of 52 poor men with wonderfull humility. And all the service of the Church of England usuall on that occasion was perform'd,

his Majesty being present all the time.' Nor were the Kings and Queens alone in this observance; formerly the Duke of Northumberland and several of the Bishops retained their almoners and conducted similar ceremonials. The old 'Blue Gowns' of Scotland, typified by Sir Walter Scott in Edie Ochiltree in the 'Antiquary,' were 'relics' of the royal almsgiving in that country.

The observance of the practice in the English Court is attested by Delaune :—'On the Thursday before Easter, called Maundy Thursday, the King or his Lord High Almoner, assisted by the Sub-Almoner, was wont to wash the feet of as many poor men as his Majesty had reigned years, and then to wipe them with a towel (according to the pattern of Our Saviour). After this he gave every one of them two and a half yards of woollen cloth with which to make a suit of clothes: also linen cloth for two shirts as well as a pair of stockings and a pair of shoes; three dishes of fish in wooden platters, one of salt salmon, a second of green fish or cod, a third of pickle-herrings—red herrings or red sprats—a gallon of beer, a quart bottle of wine, and four sixpenny loaves of bread, also a red leather purse with as many single pence as the King is years old, and in such another purse as many shillings as the King has reigned years. The Queen doth the like to diverse poor persons.'¹

¹ *Anglia Metropolis, or the Present State of London*, by Thomas Delaune, 1690.

In other accounts of the ceremony it is stated that the Sovereigns kissed the feet of the poor people and gave them the gowns they were wearing. Later on, however, they were in the habit of redeeming their gowns by a money payment, and Queen Elizabeth is stated to have redeemed hers by giving twenty shillings in a leathern purse to each poor person. In the year 1572, this Queen took part in a grand Maundy Ceremonial in the Hall in Greenwich. As many poor women were included in it as the Queen was years old. The recipients of the bounty were duly brought together in the Great Hall. Tables and benches were provided, and there was a carpeted footway, and a cushion was placed in front of each poor person for the Queen to kneel upon. Her chaplain, who was stationed at the head of the room, conducted the service. First the laundress, who was provided with a silver basin containing warm water and sweet flowers, washed the feet of the poor people, and then, after the singing of a hymn, the Sub-Almoner and the Lord High Almoner in turn repeated the process. The chaplain then read a lesson descriptive of the washing of the disciples' feet, and then the Queen entered the hall attended by thirty-nine ladies and gentlemen, the number corresponding with the years of her Majesty's age. The 'gentlefolks' put on aprons, and bearing towels and basins of water and sweet flowers waited on the Queen, who knelt on the cushions and washed and crossed and kissed

the feet of the poor women as the laundress, the Sub-Almoner and the Lord High Almoner had done before her. She then distributed the presents : broadcloth with which to make gowns, a pair of sleeves, a wooden platter upon which was half a side of salmon, the same amount of ling, six red herrings, and six loaves of ' Cheat-bread,' together with a white wooden dish of claret wine. She also bestowed on the poor women the towels she had used and the aprons worn by the attendants. The long ceremonial was then at an end, and the Queen took her departure. ' By this time the sun was setting,' pithily remarks the old chronicler to whom we are indebted for the record.

The quantity of clothes and provisions stated to have been given to the poor in the above is not quite the same as that quoted in the former narrative ; otherwise the descriptions of the ceremony are very similar. The service remained almost unchanged till the time of James II. who was the last of our Sovereigns who went through it in person.

The records of the Maundy are somewhat vague between the years 1688 and 1724. It is supposed that a modified ceremonial was conducted by the Lord High Almoner, but where it took place it is impossible to say. In the year 1724 an alteration was made in the service, the women receiving a money allowance of thirty-four shillings in lieu of the clothing. The reason alleged for this change is that as many of the garments were of a feminine

nature and not made to measure, the recipients showed an eager desire to see if the gifts fitted them, and measured and interchanged them, thus creating a bustle that almost amounted to a scandal. In the record for the year 1730, the first complete account in the possession of the Lord High Almoner, payment of fees to the chapel keeper and the man who cleaned Whitehall Chapel, can be traced; these payments have been continued ever since. It may therefore be inferred that the service was held in the Chapel at Whitehall from that time down to the year 1890, when the building was handed over to the Royal United Service Institution. Further evidence in support of this view is to be obtained from the engravings of the picture by Grimm, which represents the distribution of the purses in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, and of the banquet in the ante-chapel. The engravings are dated 1773.

In 1731, and in several successive years, the Maundy people did not receive the 1*l*. which Queen Elizabeth and her successors had given in redemption of the gown worn by them on the day of distribution. In 1759, however, the old custom was restored.

In the year 1837, an important change took place in the distribution of the bounty, the Sovereign, (William IV.) sanctioning a money allowance of thirty shillings in lieu of the provisions. It was found that the poor people were in the habit of selling for a trifling sum, amounting in some cases to no

more than five shillings a gift, the provisions of which the contract price was thirty shillings a head. The change was therefore made to prevent waste, and to increase the value of the gift to the recipients. These provisions consisted of five loaves, four pounds of beef, two salt codfish, two salt salmon, eighteen herrings and eighteen salt herrings, and they were distributed at noon-day in the ante-chapel at Whitehall. In 1731, boiled beef, shoulders of mutton, and small bowls of ale were included in the bill of fare.

In 1814, in consequence of the preparations for a concert which had been got up under the patronage of Queen Charlotte, for the benefit of the German sufferers from famine, the ante-chapel was not available for the banquet and distribution of the provisions, and a lean-to was erected against the wall of the Chapel facing Whitehall Gardens, extending the whole length of that side of the building. This temporary structure was fitted up with forms, tables and other necessities, and every effort was made to ensure the comfort of the poor people ; and it was subsequently used for the same purpose in each of the following years till the gift in kind was abolished.

The last alteration in the form of the bounty took place in 1882, when, for the first time, a money allowance was paid to each man in lieu of the gift of clothing hitherto bestowed. The reason of this change was not, as in the case of the women, on account of any bustle or confusion occasioned by

the measuring or interchanging of the articles (for except that they measured their shoes with a pocket rule, the men were content to take away their gifts uncriticised); but because it was discovered that they were often unable to afford the expense of having the materials which had been given to them made up into articles of clothing. Her Majesty's¹ permission was therefore obtained for the payment of an allowance of forty-five shillings to each man, which was the price formerly paid for the materials by the Lord Chamberlain. The clothing given used to consist of three ells of fine linen, three yards of woollen cloth of a russet colour, a pair of shoes, and a pair of hose.

The Maundy as it now exists is composed as follows :—

MEN

In a red leather purse.

	£	s.	d.
(1) For the redemption of the Sovereign's gown worn on the day of distribution . . .	1	0	0
(2) Allowances in lieu of provisions . . .	1	10	0

In a white leather purse.

The number of pence according to the age of the reigning Sovereign in silver coins specially coined for the occasion by the Royal Mint, and consisting of penny, two-penny, threepenny and fourpenny pieces, amounting in the year 1900 . . .	6	9	
---	---	---	--

In a paper packet.

Allowance in lieu of clothing . . .	2	5	0
Total . . .	5	1	9

¹ Queen Victoria.

WOMEN

	£	s.	d.
<i>Similar red and white purses</i>	2	16	9
<i>In a paper packet.</i>			
Allowance in lieu of clothing	1	15	0
Total	4	11	9

The Lord Steward pays the provision allowance for both men and women. The Lord Chamberlain contributes the clothing allowance for the men only, the women's clothing being provided for in the grant from the Civil List.

The people who are selected for this class of charity are of a somewhat superior position to those receiving gifts from other classes. Preference is given to those who had formerly been householders and paid rent and taxes, and those who have been the means of the employment of others. There are at present on the list several persons who once had comfortable incomes, but who are now reduced to poverty by misfortune in business. As may be imagined, the gifts are prized by the recipients far above their actual value ; they receive them with respect and gratitude, and regard them as tokens of love and sympathy from the Sovereign.

In February, 1901, after the death of her late Majesty Queen Victoria, the Lord High Almoner¹ petitioned his present Majesty King Edward VII., to follow the procedure adopted on the demise of William IV., to which proposal his Majesty was

¹ Lord Alwyne Compton, D.D., Bishop of Ely.

graciously pleased to give his consent. This procedure was to the effect that the numbers on the list of Maundy Recipients should be reduced to numbers corresponding with the years of the reigning monarch, and that the surviving recipients of the last Maundy of the previous reign should be placed on a supplementary list, this said list to be absorbed as vacancies occurred. It was further ordered that meanwhile no fresh appointments were to be made.

Till the construction of the new street into Whitehall, a few years ago, a very curious little ceremony used to take place, viz. the conveyance of the alms from the Almonry office and residence of the Lord High Almoner in Scotland Yard to the Chapel at Whitehall. Suddenly confronted by this procession, a wanderer who chanced to be straying in the byways of the neighbourhood of the Chapel Royal would have been struck with surprise and wonder at the attire of the figures who took part in it, for some of them were in mediæval, and some in modern, dress, some in clerical vestments, others in lay garments. He would, perhaps, have been startled if, unawares, he had met the detachment of stalwart beef-eaters, with their halberds over their shoulders, escorting one of their number, who bore on his head a large gilt salver, filled with the curious old-fashioned red and white purses with their strings hanging round like a fringe. And he might have marvelled at the Sub-Almoner, at his bevy of lay officials, and his company of children,

who, representing the children of the Almonry (one of the divisions of the Alms) carried bright bunches of flowers and wore white linen scarves that were emblematic of the sweet flowers and towels used at the obsolete ceremony of the feet washing. The little band would glide slowly by, and, before the uninitiated spectator could recover his astonishment, pass through the door of the Chapel Royal at Whitehall and join the Lord High Almoner, the Sub-Almoner and the staff of the Chapel, and then take part in the service of prayer and thanksgiving, and in the ceremony of the distribution of the royal gifts.

The office of the Royal Maundy now takes place in Westminster Abbey, and though shorn of some of its original features, still bears a resemblance to the service used in Queen Elizabeth's time. The procession forms in the nave, and passes thence into the choir, while the organist plays a voluntary. The Lord High Almoner and the Sub-Almoner take their positions in the Sacramentum, the Lord High Almoner at the north of the altar, the Sub-Almoner at the south. The Dean of Westminster, the Canons, and the Minor Canons, occupy their respective stalls, and the Precentor or the Minor Canon Reader takes the Prayers, and the Minor Canon Approver reads the lessons appointed in the office for the Royal Maundy. The alms are placed on a table at the foot of the steps leading to the Sacramentum.

THE ORDER OF PROCESSION

at the present day is as follows :—

The Beadle of the Abbey, bearing the Mace.
 The Children of the Chapel Royal.
 The Choristers of Westminster Abbey.
 The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal.
 The Lay Vicars of Westminster Abbey.
 Clergymen in Academical Robes, representing the recipients of the
 Royal Alms.
 The Minor Canons.
 The Canons' Verger.
 The Canons.
 The Serjeant-Major of the Yeomen of the Guard.
 The Yeoman carrying the Dish containing the Alms.
 Verger.
 The Sub-Almoner.
 The Lord High Almoner.
 The two Chaplains to the Lord High Almoner.
 The Dean's Verger.
 The Dean.
 The Children of the Royal Almonry.
 The Secretary of H.M. Almonry and his Assistant.
 The Wandsmen.
 The Yeomen of the Guard.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE OFFICE FOR THE ROYAL
MAUNDY AS USED AT THE PRESENT DAY

‘ENTER not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord :
for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.’—Psalm
cxliii. 2.

DEARLY beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us in
sundry places to acknowledge and confess our manifold
sins and wickedness ; wherefore I pray and beseech you,
as many as are here present, to accompany me with a pure
heart, and humble voice, unto the throne of the heavenly
grace, saying after me :

Then shall be said, all kneeling,

ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father ; We have erred,
and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have

followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done ; And we have done those things which we ought not to have done ; And there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults. Restore thou them that are penitent ; According to thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake ; That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, To the glory of thy holy Name. Amen.

Then the Priest alone shall say, standing,

ALMIGHTY God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness, and live ; and hath given power, and commandment, to his Ministers, to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the Absolution and Remission of their sins : He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel. Wherefore let us beseech him to grant us true repentance, and his holy Spirit, that those things may please him, which we do at this present ; and that the rest of our lives hereafter may be pure, and holy ; so that at the last we may come to his eternal joy ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall be said, all kneeling,

OUR Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation ; But deliver us from evil : For thine is the kingdom, The power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

Priest. O Lord, open thou our lips.

Answer. And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.

Priest. O God, make speed to save us.

Answer. O Lord, make haste to help us.

Here all standing up, the Priest shall say,

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son : and to the Holy Ghost.

Answer. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

Priest. Praise ye the Lord.

Answer. The Lord's Name be praised.

PSALM XCI

Qui habitat

WHOSO dwelleth under the defence of the most High : shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

2 I will say unto the Lord, Thou art my hope and my stronghold : my God, in him will I trust.

3 For he shall deliver thee from the snare of the hunter : and from the noisome pestilence.

4 He shall defend thee under his wings, and thou shalt be safe under his feathers : his faithfulness and truth shall be thy shield and buckler.

5 Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night : nor for the arrow that flieth by day ;

6 For the pestilence that walketh in darkness : nor for the sickness that destroyeth in the noon-day.

7 A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand : but it shall not come nigh thee.

8 Yea with thine eyes shalt thou behold : and see the reward of the ungodly.

9 For thou, Lord, art my hope : thou hast set thine house of defence very high.

10 There shall no evil happen unto thee : neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.

11 For he shall give his angels charge over thee: to keep thee in all thy ways.

12 They shall bear thee in their hands: that thou hurt not thy foot against a stone.

13 Thou shalt go upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet.

14 Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him: I will set him up, because he hath known my Name.

15 He shall call upon me, and I will hear him: yea, I am with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and bring him to honour.

16 With long life will I satisfy him: and shew him my salvation.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost; As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

First Lesson, St. John xiii. 1-16

Let us pray.

The Collect

LORD JESUS CHRIST, who when about to institute the Holy Sacrament at thy last Supper, didst wash the feet of thy Apostles, teaching us by thy example the grace of humility; cleanse us, we beseech thee, from all filth of sin, that we may be worthy partakers of thy holy mysteries, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

First Anthem

Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness: and cleanse me from my sin.

For I acknowledge my faults: and my sin is ever before me.—*Ps.* li. 2, 3.

PELHAM HUMPHREY

(Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. Died 1674.)

FIRST DISTRIBUTION

CLOTHING

1*l.* 15*s.* allowance in lieu to each Woman.

2*l.* 5*s.* allowance in lieu to each Man.

Second Anthem

O love the Lord, all ye his saints, for the Lord preserveth them that are faithful, and plenteously rewardeth the proud doer. Be strong, and he shall establish your heart : all ye that put your trust in the Lord. Amen.—*Ps.* xxxi. 26, 27.

SULLIVAN

(One of the Children of the Chapel Royal, 1854-7.)

SECOND DISTRIBUTION

PURSES

The Red—Containing each 1*l.* in gold, representing part of the Maundy ; and 1*l.* 10*s.*, an allowance in lieu of Provisions, formerly given in kind.

The White—Containing as many pence as the King is years of age, and given in Silver Pennies, Twopences, Threepences, and Fourpences, being the balance of the Maundy.

Third Anthem

Sing unto the Lord a new song, and His praise from the end of the earth, ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein ; the isles, and the inhabitants thereof.—*Is.* xlii. 10.

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom : and the knowledge of the Holy One is understanding. By wisdom thy days shall be multiplied and the years of thy life shall be increased.—*Prov.* ix. 10, 11.

For she is a breath of the power of God, a pure stream flowing from the glory of the Almighty, and the image of His goodness.—*Wisd.* vii. 24, 25.

The Lord is gracious and full of compassion ; slow

to anger, and of great mercy. The Lord is good to all : and His tender mercies are over all His works. His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and His dominion endureth throughout all generations.—*Ps.* cxlv. 8, 9, 13.

BRIDGE.

Second Lesson, St. Matthew xxv. 31 to the end.

Fourth Anthem

Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, anointed Solomon King. And all the people rejoiced and said, God save the King. Long live the King. May the King live for ever. Hallelujah. Amen.—1 *Kings* i. 39, 40.

HANDEL.

Let us pray.

A Prayer for the King's Majesty.

WE thank thee, O Lord, and praise thy Name, that thou hast not only bestowed greatness and majesty upon our Sovereign Lord King Edward, but hast given him a heart also to show mercy to the poor and needy. Accept this tribute which he pays to thee, the Giver of all good things : and make him fruitful in these and all other good works, that his throne may be established in mercy ; and stir up the hearts of all those who have now been the partakers of his bounty, to be truly thankful unto thee for it, and to pray for him that after a long and prosperous reign in this world, he may have a heavenly kingdom in the world to come ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, Father of all mercies, we thine unworthy servants do give thee most humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodness and loving-kindness to us, and to all men. We bless thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life ; but above all, for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ ; for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. And, we beseech thee, give us that due

sense of all thy mercies, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we shew forth thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives ; by giving up ourselves to thy service, and by walking before thee in holiness and righteousness all our days ; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee ; and dost promise, that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name thou wilt grant their requests : Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them ; granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

PSALM C

All people that on earth do dwell,
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice ;
Him serve with fear, His praise forth tell,
Come ye before Him, and rejoice.

The Lord, ye know, is God indeed ;
Without our aid He did us make ;
We are His flock, He doth us feed,
And for His sheep He doth us take.

O enter then His gates with praise,
Approach with joy His courts unto ;
Praise, laud, and bless His name always,
For it is seemly so to do.

For why ? the Lord our God is good ;
His mercy is for ever sure ;
His truth at all times firmly stood,
And shall from age to age endure. Amen.

BENEDICTION BY THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

In the old book in the keeping of the Registrar-General, to which reference has already been made, the following paragraph appears on page 26, at the end of the Order of Service, as used in the year 1709 :—

‘ After the Blessings the Lord Almoner calls for Wine, and drinks to all ye poor the King’s health : and bids them be thankfull to God and pray for the King.’

LIST OF ROYAL ALMONERS SINCE THE REIGN OF
HENRY VII., SO FAR AS IS KNOWN.

- I. THOMAS WOLSEY, *King’s Almoner* . . . 1508–1530
 - Dean of Lincoln* 1509
 - Bishop of Lincoln* 1514
 - Bishop of Tournay* 1514
 - Archbishop of York* 1514
 - Cardinal* 1515
- II. RICHARD RAWLINS, D.D., *King’s Almoner* 1509–1536
 - Sub-Dean of York* 1504
 - Archdeacon of Cleveland* . . . 1506
 - Archdeacon of Huntingdon* . . . 1514
 - Bishop of St. David’s* 1523
- III. DR. EDWARD FOX, *King’s Almoner* . . . 1530–1538
 - Archdeacon of Leicester* 1531
 - Dean of Salisbury* 1533
 - Bishop of Hereford* 1535
- IV. NICHOLAS HEATH, *King’s Almoner* . . . 1539–1558
 - Archdeacon of Stafford*
 - Bishop of Rochester* 1540
 - Bishop of Worcester* 1543
 - Archbishop of York* 1555
- V. DR. WILLIAM BILL, *Chief Almoner* . . . 1553–1554
 - Dean of Westminster* 1560. (According to Leslie Stephen, it is likely that he held the office of Almoner under Edward VI.)

VI.	EDMUND GHEAST, <i>Almoner</i>	. . .	1571-1577
	<i>Bishop of Rochester</i>	. . .	1559
	<i>Bishop of Salisbury</i>	. . .	1571
VII.	JOHN PIERS, <i>Almoner</i>	. . .	1578-1595
	<i>Bishop of Rochester</i>	. . .	1576
	<i>Bishop of Salisbury</i>	. . .	1577
	<i>Archbishop of York</i>	. . .	1588
VIII.	ANTHONY WATSON, <i>Bishop Almoner</i>	. . .	1596-1605
	<i>Dean of Bristol</i>	. . .	1590
	<i>Bishop of Chichester</i>	. . .	1596
IX.	LANCELOT ANDREWS, <i>King's Almoner</i>	. . .	1605-1626
	<i>Dean of Westminster</i>	. . .	1601
	<i>Bishop of Chichester</i>	. . .	1605
	<i>Bishop of Ely</i>	. . .	1609 (Aug. 20)
	<i>Dean of the Chapels Royal</i>	. . .	1619
	<i>Bishop of Winchester</i>	. . .	1619
X.	DANIEL DU PLESSIS, <i>Chief Almoner</i>	. . .	1625
	<i>Bishop of Meude</i>	. . .	
XI.	BISHOP CHRISTOPHER POTTER, <i>Chief Almoner</i>	. . .	1628-1646
	<i>Dean of Worcester</i>	. . .	1636
XII.	FRANCIS WHITE, <i>Lord Almoner</i>	. . .	1637-1638
	<i>Dean of Carlisle</i>	. . .	1622
	<i>Bishop of Carlisle</i>	. . .	1626
	<i>Bishop of Norwich</i>	. . .	1628-1629
	<i>Bishop of Ely</i>	. . .	1631
XIII.	WALTER CURLE, D.D., <i>Chief Almoner</i>	. . .	1637-1647
	<i>Dean of Lichfield</i>	. . .	1621
	<i>Bishop of Rochester</i>	. . .	1628
	<i>Bishop of Bath and Wells</i>	. . .	1629
	<i>Bishop of Winchester</i>	. . .	1632
XIV.	BRIAN DUPPA, <i>Lord Almoner</i>	. . .	1660-1662
	<i>Dean of Christchurch, Oxford</i>	. . .	1629
	<i>Bishop of Chichester</i>	. . .	1638
	<i>Bishop of Salisbury</i>	. . .	1641
	<i>Bishop of Winchester</i>	. . .	1660 (Aug. 29)

- XV. HUMPHREY HENCHMAN, *Bishop Almoner*. 1664-1675
Bishop of Salisbury . . . 1660
Bishop of London . . . 1663
- XVI. WILLIAM, BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH, *Lord Almoner* . . . 1689
- XVII. LANCELOT BLACKBURNE (Founder of the Arabic Chairs), *Almoner* . . . 1717-1743
Dean of Exeter . . . 1705
Bishop of Exeter . . . 1717
Archbishop of York . . . 1724
- XVIII. MATTHEW HUTTON, *Lord Almoner* . . . 1747-1758
Bishop of Bangor . . . 1743
Archbishop of York . . . 1747
Archbishop of Canterbury . . . 1757
- XIX. HONBLE. ROBERT DRUMMOND, *Lord Almoner* . . . 1761-1776
Bishop of St. Asaph . . . 1748
Bishop of Salisbury . . . 1761
Archbishop of York . . . 1761
- XX. WILLIAM MARKHAM, *Lord Almoner* . . . 1776-1807
Bishop of Chester . . . 1771
Archbishop of York . . . 1776
- XXI. HONBLE. EDWARD V. VERNON (afterwards Harcourt), *Lord Almoner* . . . 1808-1847
Bishop of Carlisle . . . 1791
Archbishop of York . . . 1807
- XXII. SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, *Lord High Almoner* . . . 1847-1870
Bishop of Oxford . . . 1845
Bishop of Winchester . . . 1870
- XXIII. HONBLE. GERALD WELLESLEY, *Lord High Almoner* . . . 1870-1882
Dean of the King's Free Chapel of St. George in his Castle of Windsor . . . 1854
Registrar of the Most Noble Order of the Garter . . . 1854

XXIV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, *Lord High*

<i>Almoner</i>	. . . . .	1882
<i>Dean of Worcester</i>	. . . . .	1878
<i>Bishop of Ely</i>	. . . . .	1886

LIST OF SUB-ALMONERS FROM THE REIGN OF
HENRY VII., SO FAR AS IS KNOWN.

I.	WILLIAM SOUCHE	. . . . .	1578
II.	ROBERT SCOTT	. . . . .	1608
	<i>Sub-Dean of Wells</i>	. . . . .	1608
III.	DR. THOMAS GEORGE	. . . . .	1661
IV.	DR. WILLIAM CAREY	. . . . .	1808-1846
	<i>Bishop of Exeter</i>	. . . . .	1820
	<i>Bishop of St. Asaph</i>	. . . . .	1830
V.	DR. PAGE	. . . . .
VI.	DR. JEBB	. . . . .
VII.	E. R. WILBERFORCE, D.D.	. . . . .	1871-1882
	<i>Bishop of Newcastle</i>	. . . . .	1882
	<i>Bishop of Chichester</i>	. . . . .	1895
VIII.	RANDALL DAVIDSON, D.D.	. . . . .	1882
	<i>Dean of Windsor</i>	. . . . .	1883
	<i>Bishop of Rochester</i>	. . . . .	1891
	<i>Bishop of Winchester</i>	. . . . .	1895
IX.	R. EYTON, M.A.	. . . . .	1883
	<i>Canon of Westminster</i>	. . . . .	1895
X.	EDGAR SHEPPARD, D.D.	. . . . .	1899
	<i>Sub-Dean of the Chapels Royal</i>	. . . . .	1884



THE NORTH END OF CANNON ROW.
(From a Drawing by J. P. Elmslie in the possession of E. Gardner, Esq.)

CHAPTER XXIV

PICTURES AND ART TREASURES, AND THE ROYAL
LIBRARY

THE set of pictures which Henry VIII. brought to Whitehall formed the nucleus of the collection subsequently made by Prince Henry (Prince of Wales) and his brother Charles I. The majority of these paintings were kept in a building called the Cabinet Room, the plans of which had been designed by Inigo Jones for Prince Henry. It was erected, according to Walpole, 'about the middle of Whitehall, running across from the Thames to the Banqueting House and fronting westward to the Privy Garden.' Pennant implies that the room stood on the site of the Duke of York's house; but Brayley thinks that Walpole is the more trustworthy authority, as the latter refers to Van der Dort's catalogue of the collection of Charles I. It is interesting to note that in the reign of this Sovereign there was a rise in the value of pictures, owing, says Jesse, 'to the competition between Charles and Philip IV., King of Spain, another Royal collector.' Charles's pictures were subse-

quently dispersed throughout Europe at the time of the Civil War.

Hentzner, who visited England in the year 1598, alludes to a few of the pictures he saw at Whitehall : such as portraits of Queen Elizabeth at sixteen years of age ; of King Henry VIII., and King Richard :—Lucrece, a Grecian bride in her wedding-dress ; and King Edward VI., ‘representing at first sight something quite deformed, till, by looking through a small hole in the cover, which is put over it, you see it in its true proportions.’ In addition to these the collection included portraits of Charles X. ; Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, and Catherine of Spain, his wife ; Ferdinand, Duke of Florence, with his daughter ; Philip, King of Spain ; Henry VII. ; Henry VIII. and his mother, and portraits of many other celebrated persons, also a picture of the siege of Malta.

The building to which we have referred also contained many works by Van Dyck, for King Charles was an extensive patron of this artist and his pupils.

In the private apartments which adjoined the Library were ‘divers of the best pictures of Raphael and Titian, and other artists’¹; also Holbein’s ‘Noli me tangere,’ than which ‘I never saw,’ wrote Evelyn, ‘so much reverence and kind of heavenly astonishment expressed in a picture.’

The collection numbered in all about 460

¹ Brayley’s *Londiniana*, 1829.

pictures, among which were 28 by Titian, 9 by Raphael, 46 by Julio Romano, 4 by Guido, 7 by Parmegiano; Correggio and Rubens were also represented. To these must be added the famous Cartoons by Raphael, which had been brought from Flanders to England, and which had been purchased for the sum of 300*l.* by Cromwell during the Commonwealth. Subsequently they were hidden in deal cases, in which they were found at the Restoration.

‘To the blind zeal of a Puritanical Government,’ says Jesse, ‘we owe the dispersion of this glorious collection.’ His words are justified by the facts. For all such objects as were considered superstitious were destroyed in 1645, and everything else was ordered to be sold, including not only pictures but also statues and tapestries and jewels.

It was ordered that all such pictures and statues as are without any superstition shall be forthwith sold, for the benefit of Ireland and the North, and that all pictures there (York House) as have the representation of the Second Person of the Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary, shall be forthwith burnt.

Apropos of the tapestry at Whitehall that was included in this sale, ‘W. M. M.’ wrote as follows, in ‘Notes and Queries’ (Fifth Series, vol. ii., Jan. 1879):

In the Countess of Wilton’s ‘Art of Needlework,’ London, 1840, it is stated that Leo X. ordered a duplicate set of hangings from the Cartoons of Raphael, which he presented to Henry VIII., and that they hung in the Banquet-

ing House at Whitehall till the murder of Charles I. when they were sold and conveyed to Spain, but that in recent years they had been repurchased and exhibited in London.

To 'W. M. M.'s' information Mr. Ralph N. James added :—

A pamphlet, 'Raphael Vindicated,' by W. Trull (Hookham, London, 1840) gives a full account of the tapestries to which 'W. M. M.' alludes. It is therein stated that Leo X. ordered two sets—one was presented to Henry VIII. After the death of Charles I. 'they were sold, in 1649, to Don Alonso de Cardenas, at his decease devolved to the noble house of Alba, were bought by Mr. Peter Tupper, in 1823, by whom they were brought to England,' and, in 1833, passed, by purchase, into the hands of Mr. William Trull, a merchant in London, with whom they remain. I saw them hanging in the Crystal Palace, in the part which was burned ; but I think they were saved.

Mr. William Henry Hart sent the following communication to 'Notes and Queries' (Second Series, vol. vii., Feb. 1829) apropos of this sale of tapestry at Whitehall :—

The following two items give us a specimen of the narrow-minded and ill-bred spirit which pervaded the Puritan Religionists of that day . . . it is not surprising, therefore, that Praise-God Barebones should, in his zeal for Puritan plainness, barter away what was doubtless splendid tapestry at Whitehall, in order to gratify his own peculiar prejudices :

(1.) Paid unto Mr. John Hunte, in pursuance of an order of the Commons House, 14 Jan. 1647, to be issued by the Committee of Whitehall, for providing of bedding and other provisions fitting for accommodating the forces

appointed to be quartered in Whitehall and the Mews, by virtue of three several warrants of this Committee, 2,500*l*.

(2.) Paid unto the said Mr. Hunte by way of Loan, to be repaid out of the moneys to be raised of the sale of certain hangings which have superstitious and idolatrous pictures in them, at Whitehall, by order of the Commons House, 19 Feb. 1647, for to provide fire, candles, and other necessaries for the said soldiers, by warrant dated 21 Febr., 1647, 100*l*.

The inventory of the objects to be sold seems to have taken a year in drawing up, while it took upwards of three years to dispose of the collection. It must be said on Cromwell's behalf that he did his best to preserve what he could of the latter ; he also purchased many pictures for himself, including, as we have seen, the Cartoons of Raphael.

Pepys, in his 'Diary,' tells us that when he went to the Palace to view 'the great works of art,' he paid especial attention to the pictures, which consisted of :—

- (1.) Those sold to the Commonwealth and recovered.
- (2.) Those retained by Cromwell.
- (3.) A Collection which, having been bought by a Dutchman from Whitehall, was obtained by the State of Holland from his widow, and presented to Charles II. on his Restoration.

Happily, the Restoration put an end to the sale of these treasures, and Walcott informs us that 'the plate, hangings and paintings which had been pilaged were collected by Proclamation and brought back.'

In addition to the pictures and tapestry there was a considerable number of curiosities and works of art in the collection at Whitehall, among them the cabinet of the Duke of Mantua, who had come originally to England as Italian Ambassador. This cabinet had been purchased by Charles I., and was valued at 18,000*l*. Together with most of the other works of art, it was bought in by the agents of Charles II. and deposited for the time being in the Banqueting House.

Pepys, in his 'Diary,' also makes allusion to the works of art at Whitehall other than the paintings, and among them he recalls 'a great many fine antique heads of marble that my Lord Northumberland had given to the King.'

Hentzner describes in detail the treasures he had seen in Whitehall Palace. He singles out for special mention two small silver cabinets of most elaborate workmanship, in which Queen Elizabeth was in the habit of keeping her writing materials, and a jewel box in which she kept her letters. He also speaks of a picture of the 'Agony in the Garden' in painted glass; 'a small hermitage, half hid in a rock, finely carved in wood; also a variety of emblems on paper, cut in the shape of shields, with mottoes, used by the nobility at tilts and tournaments, hung up here for a memorial; also different instruments of music, upon one of which two persons may perform at the same time.'¹

¹ Hentzner's *Journey to England* (Walpole's Edition), pp. 29-31.

In the following century, under the date February 11, 1656, Evelyn, after stating that he had not visited Whitehall for many years, speaks of the place as being 'glorious and well furnished'; he tells us, moreover, how glad he was to find 'they had not much defaced ye rare piece of Henry VII., done on the walls of the King's Privy Chamber.' In the year 1680, the same writer tells us that he inspected the King's private library at Whitehall and found there, in addition to many books, curiosities of all kinds, including intaglios, medals, clocks, watches, and pendules 'of exquisite workmanship.' And he refers in these terms to the Queen's collection of *objets d'art* :—

I saw the Queene's rare cabinets and collection of China, wch. was wonderfully rich, and plentifull, but especially a large cabinet, looking glasse frame, and stands, all of amber, much of it white, with historical bas-reliefs and statues, with medals carved in them esteemed worth 4,000*l*, sent by the Duke of Brandenburg, whose country, Prussia, abounds with amber cast up by the sea ; divers other china and Indian cabinets, screens and hangings. In her library were many bookes in English, French and Dutch of all sorts, a cupboard of gold plate ; a cabinet of silver fillagree, wch. in my opinion, should have been generously sent to her.

Evelyn also describes the Queen's¹ new apartment at Whitehall, together with her 'new bed, the embroidery of which cost 3,000*l*. The carving about the chimney piece is incomparable.'

¹ Mary d'Este, King James's Queen, who at that time was with the King in France.

Finally, Evelyn states that, in June 1693 a great sale of pictures by Van Dyck and Rubens, the property of Lord Melford, took place in the Banqueting House, which, some ten years previously, had been used, by the King's permission, for the sale of pictures belonging to Sir Peter Lely.

THE ROYAL LIBRARY

Hentzner, after his visit to England, in 1598, published some interesting particulars concerning the Royal Library at Whitehall.

In the Palace, (he writes) is a library well stored with Greek, Latin, Italian and French books, and, among the rest, a small one in French upon parchment in the handwriting of the present Queen Elizabeth, thus inscribed :—

'A très haut et très puissant et redoubte Prince, Henri VIII. de ce nom, Roy d'Angleterre, de France et d'Irlande, defenseur de la foy.

'Elizabeth, sa très humble fille, rend salut et obedience.'¹

All these books (he continues) are bound in velvet of different colours, though chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; some have pearls and precious stones set in their bindings.²

They numbered in all about 1,000 volumes, and very many of them, Hentzner tells us, had been either presented or dedicated to the King. In addition to these books, there were in the Royal

¹ 'To the most High Puissant and redoubted Prince, Henry VIII. of the name, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. Elizabeth, his most humble daughter, health and obedience'

² Hentzner's *Journey to England* (Walpole's Edition), p. 29.

Library 'intaglios, medals, clocks, watches and pendules of exquisite workmanship,' which Evelyn inspected in September 1680. To judge from his remarks, however, Evelyn does not seem to have been much impressed by this Royal Library after having spent 'three or four entire daies locked up and alone' in it.

'I went,' says he, 'with expectation of finding some curiosities, but though there were a thousand volumes, there were few of importance which I had not perus'd before.' He found some historical books in the collection, some books on travel and a large number of maps and sea charts; 'but what was most rare,' he says, 'were three or four Romish breviaries with a great deal of miniature and monkish painting and gilding.' He also saw there a beautifully illuminated book, and a breviary, which had been inscribed by King Henry VII., who gave it originally to his daughter Margaret, who afterwards became Queen of Scots. In it the King expressed the hope that she would continue to pray for the repose of his soul.

Evelyn goes on to say that the collection contained several manuscripts, including 'The school exercises and journal of Edward VI.'¹ and a dissertation in High Dutch on 'Ye Processe of the Philosopher's Great Elixir, represented in divers pieces of excellent miniature.' The collection

¹ It is said that Bishop Burnet made use of this journal in his *History of the Reformation*.

likewise included a manuscript work 300 years old, written in French, being an 'Institution of Physic with the Plants of the botanical part curiously painted in miniature'; and some translations written in the hand of Edward VI. These, we may take it, were the most important items in a library which, for a building of its size and kind must be admitted to be a little disappointing.

CHAPTER XXV

FIRES AT WHITEHALL PALACE

MOST great historical buildings have suffered damage from fire in the course of their history. But the famous Palace of Whitehall has been peculiarly unfortunate in this respect, for, as Brayley writes: 'The element of fire was destined to be its ruin.'

In volume 105 of the 'Domestic State Papers' at the Record Office, there are references, under several dates in January 1619, to a fire that occurred at the new Banqueting House and caused considerable damage. The conflagration, which resulted from 'some one carrying a candle under the scaffolding, was first observed by two fellows who went their way without saying anything about it, lest they should be charged with incendiarism.' The whole Palace would probably have been involved in the flames 'but for the providence of the Lord Chamberlain in having some place broken into,' and thus arresting the spread of the fire. In this fire the papers of the Signet Privy Seal and Council Offices were destroyed, and the Banqueting

House was so much damaged that it had to be rebuilt.

The two great fires, however, that, between them, burnt down all the important buildings of the Palace, save one, occurred in the years 1691 and 1698 respectively. The former, which raged for eight hours, from eight o'clock in the evening till four the next morning, in fact broke out in the apartments that had been assigned by Charles II. to the Duchess of Portsmouth, and quickly destroyed the Stone Gallery, which ran along the east side of the Privy Garden, and the numerous rooms which lay between it and the river. This fire, which took place four days before King William's arrival in England from the Congress at the Hague, seems to have been caused by the negligence of a maidservant who, to save herself the trouble of cutting off a candle from others attached to it, burnt it off, and then threw the other aside without extinguishing the flame.

Evelyn, in his 'Diary,' under the date April 10, 1691, thus describes the conflagration that ensued :—

This night a sudden and terrible fire burnt down all the buildings over the Stone Gallery at Whitehall, to the water side, beginning at the apartment of the late Dutchesse of Portsmouth, which had been pulled down and rebuilt no less than three times to please her! . . . The King return'd out of Holland, just as this accident happen'd.

Bramston, in his 'Diary,' also makes the following entry concerning this fire :—

On the 9th of Aprill (1691) a fier hap'ned in White Hall which burnt downe the fine lodgeings rebuilt for the Dutches of Portsmouth, at the end of the Longe Gallery, and severall lodgeings and that Gallerie.

The fire of 1698 was far more destructive even than that of 1691. It burnt down the entire Palace with the exception of the Banqueting House and a few buildings adjoining it. Upwards of a thousand apartments, including those of the King and the Queen, the Guard Room, the Wardrobe, the Treasury, the Office of the Privy Council, and the Office of the Secretary of State,¹ together with the Chapel which, Evelyn tells us, had been fitted up for James II., all these perished in the flames. Certain pictures in the Matted Gallery, which are mentioned by Evelyn, and 'which had escaped the Spoiler in the Rebellion with the additional collections made by Charles II. and his brother,'² were also destroyed.

Brayley informs us that, besides the King and Queen's apartments, about one hundred and fifty houses, 'most of which were the lodgings and habitations of the chief nobility,' were entirely destroyed, and it is further stated that about twenty others were blown up to prevent further destruction.

Luckily, 'that famous piece of architecture, the Banqueting House, was so particularly the object of the King's care, that he sent messenger after

¹ Macaulay.

² Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*.

messenger from Kensington for its preservation, and it was saved with great difficulty.'¹

This terrible conflagration, which broke out about four in the afternoon and lasted upwards of seventeen hours, originated through the neglect and carelessness of another woman, a laundress, a Dutch woman, who had left some linen to dry in front of a fire, in the lodging of a certain Colonel Stanley. She and twelve other persons, so it is reported, perished in the flames.

Sir Christopher Wren, whose apartments, as Surveyor-General, were situated within the walls of the Palace, and Lord Cutts, who commanded the troops, are said to have rendered invaluable aid on this critical occasion.

King William, indeed, was not greatly concerned by the disaster, for in a letter to a friend he acknowledges 'that the accident, as he calls it, affected him less than it might another, because Whitehall was a place in which he could not live.'²

Such was the end of Whitehall Palace. The Banqueting House was saved indeed for the admiration of posterity, but the rest of the buildings, almost without exception, was reduced to ashes. The Palace which through the changing years had witnessed the fortunes and failings of so many different men and women—the pomp of a Wolsey, the parade of a Cromwell, the execution of a King; which had been the scene of Henry's

¹ Tindal.

² Loftie's *Whitehall*.

revels, Elizabeth's vanities, the wit and licence of Charles's Court, the fears and flight of James, was now, in a day, become as though it had never been. And, even as they, those mighty ones who had danced, revelled and schemed within its walls, were now but a mere handful of dust, so, almost in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, its magnificence had been reduced by the pitiless flames to a pile of charred rubbish. 'Its dreams past: its pomp vanished.'¹

It is a dismal sight to behold such a glorious, famous, and much renowned Palace reduced to a heap of rubbish and ashes, which the day before might justly contend with any Palace in the world for riches, honour, nobility and grandeur.²

Thus it is written in a contemporary pamphlet, which has since been reprinted by the Harleian Society; so, with a sigh and a moral, we, too, may leave our 'much renowned Palace.' Or shall it rather be with the terse, expressive note in which Evelyn makes the last reference to it, which can be found in his oft-quoted 'Diary'?—

2 January (1698) Whitehall burnt: nothing but walls and ruins left.

¹ Whitelocke.

² Harleian MSS.

COPY OF THE DEATH WARRANT OF CHARLES I.

*At the high Co^dt of Justice for the tryinge and
iudginge of Charles Steuart, kinge of England
January xxixth Anno Dñi 1648.*

Whereas Charles Steuart kinge of England is
and standeth convicted attaynted and condemned
of High Treason and other high Crymes And
sentence vppon Saturday last ^{was} pronounced against
him by this Co^dt to be putt to death by the
severinge of his head from his body Of wth
sentence execu^cōn yet remayneth to be done
These are therefore to will and require you to see
the said sentence executed In the open Streete
before Whitehall vppon the morrowe being the
Thirtieth day of this instant moneth of January
betweene the houres of Tenn in the morninge and
ffive in the afternoone of the same day wth full
effect And for soe doing this shall be yo^r sufficient
warrant And these are to require All Officers and
Souldiers and other the good people of this Nation of
England to be assistinge vnto you in this service
Given vnder o^r hands and Seales.

To Collonell ffrancis Hacker Colonell Huncks

and Lieutenant Colonell Phayre and to every of them.

JO. BRADSHAWE	○	HENRY MARTEN.	○
THO. GREY	○	VINC ^T . POTTER.	○
O. CROMWELL.	○	WM. CONSTABLE.	○
EDW. WHALLEY.	○	RICH. INGOLDESBY.	○
J. LIUESEY.	○	WILL. CAWLEY.	○
JOHN OKEY.	○	JO. BARKETead.	○
J. DAÜERS.	○	ISAA. EWER.	○
JO. BOURCHIER.	○	JOHN DIXWELL.	○
H. IRETON.	○	VALENTINE WAUTON.	○
THO. MAULEUERER.	○	SYMON MAYNE.	○
HAR. WALLER.	○	THO. HORTON.	○
JOHN BLAKISTON.	○	J. JONES.	○
J. HUTCHINSON.	○	JOHN BENNE.	○
WILL. GOFF.	○	GILBT. MILLINGTON.	○
THO. PRIDE.	○	G. FLEETWOOD.	○
PE. TEMPLE.	○	J. ALURED.	○
T. HARRISON.	○	ROBT. LILBURNE.	○
J. HEWSON.	○	WILL. SAY.	○
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PER. PELHAM.	○	GRE. NORTON.	○
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H. EDWARDES.	○	JOHN VENN.	○
DANIEL BLAGRAUE.	○	GREGORY CLEMENT.	○
OWEN ROWE.	○	JO. DOWNES.	○
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AD. SCROPE.	○	THO. SCOT.	○
JAMES TEMPLE.	○	JO. CAREW.	○
A. GARLAND.	○	MILES CORBET.	○
EDM. LUDLOWE.	○		

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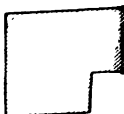
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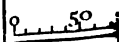
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- B. His Royal
- C. Prince
- D. Duke
- E. Duk
- F. Duk
- G. Duk
- H. Ear
- I. Ear
- L. Lord
- M. Lord



- a. Her Maje
- b. Maids of
- c. Countess
- d. Queen's
- e. Lady Sila
- f. Countess
- g. Queen's
- h. Mrs. Kirk
- i. Countess
- j. main's M
- k. Colonel A
- l. Sir Philli
- m. Captain
- n. Lady Sea
- o. Mr. Hyde
- p. The K.Q.
- q. Mr. Chiff
- r. Sir Willia
- s. Sir Fran
- t. Dr. Frazie



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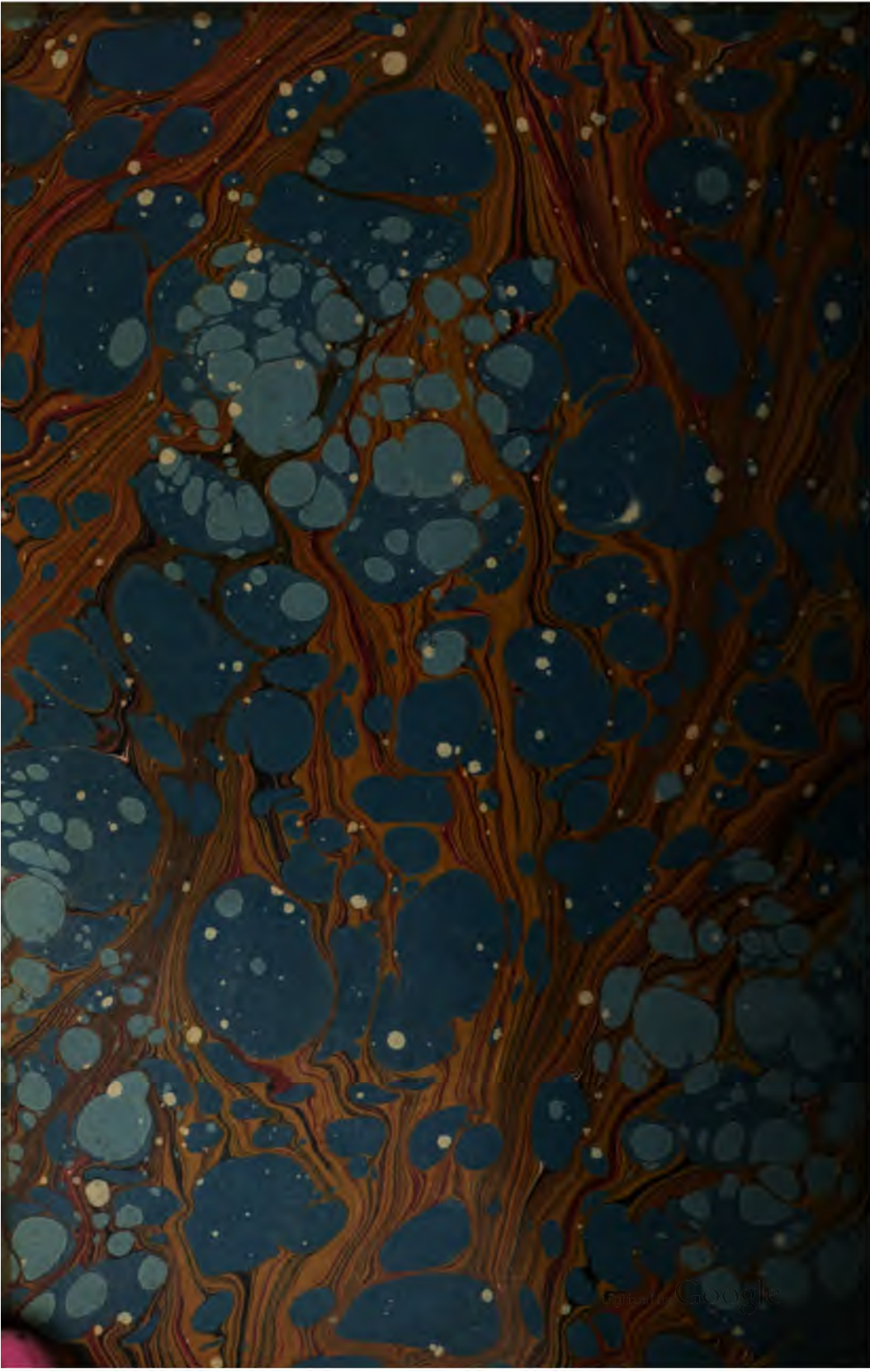
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